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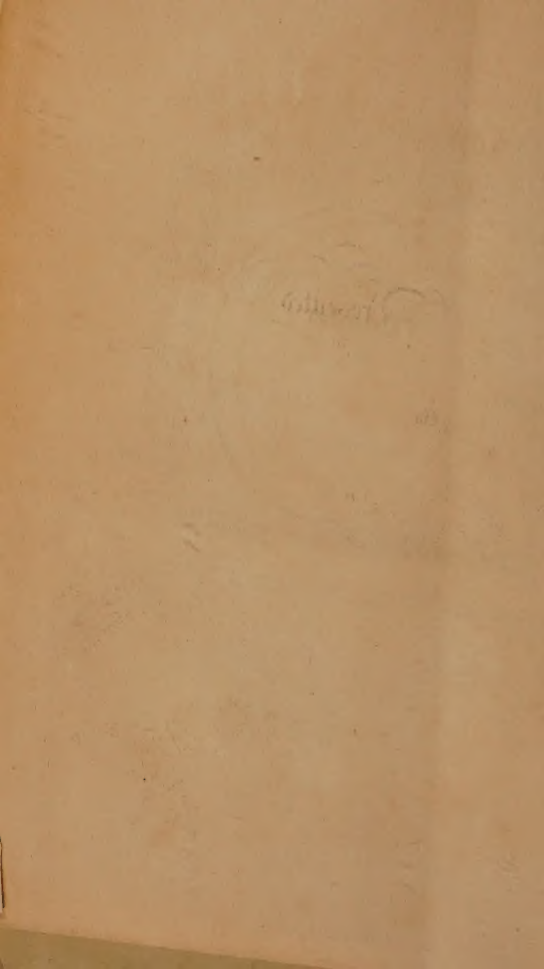
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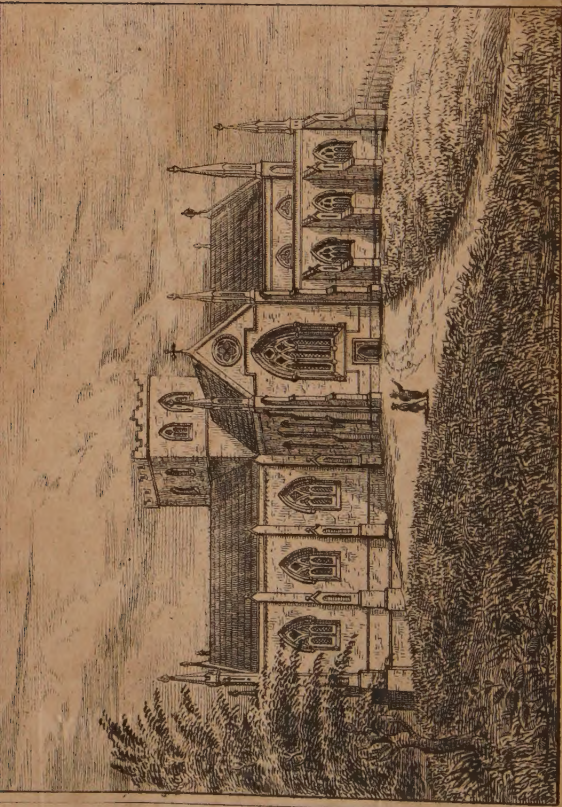


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OF THE
Church History
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IRELAND
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ROBERT KING A.B.
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
AND
OF THE SOCIETY OF THE APOSTOLICAL APOSTLES

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
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A PRIMER
OF
THE HISTORY
OF
The Holy Catholic Church
IN
IRELAND,

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE FORMATION
OF THE MODERN IRISH BRANCH OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

SECOND EDITION.

DUBLIN :
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1843.

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TO
THE VERY REVEREND
HORATIO TOWNSEND NEWMAN,
DEAN OF CORK,

THE VENERABLE
HENRY IRWIN,
ARCHDEACON OF EMLY, AND MINISTER OF SANDFORD CHURCH, DUBLIN,
AND

THE HONORABLE AND REVEREND
JOHN PRATT HEWITT,
INCUMBENT OF MONEYMORE, ARMAGH,

(My late worthy rector;)

NAMES REVEREND, VENERABLE, AND HONORABLE, NOT MORE BY
ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL USAGE, THAN BY THE WILLING SUPFRAGE
OF THOSE AMONG WHOM THEY LABOUR IN THE LORD,

THIS LITTLE VOLUME
IS, WITH THEIR KIND PERMISSION,
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,
AS
AN HUMBLE TRIBUTE OF CORDIAL ESTEEM AND REGARD

FROM ONE WHO DESIRES TO BE USEFUL IN THE CAUSE WHICH
OCCUPIES THEIR AFFECTIONS AND THEIR LIVES.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It will be sufficiently evident from the price at which this book is sold, that it has not been published with any view to making money by the sale of it. The sole object contemplated in it is to disseminate information on the important subject of which it treats, and therefore the price is fixed so low, as barely to afford a hope that the returns of sale may be sufficient to defray the necessary expenses attending the publication. It is desirable that they who approve of the design and the present manner of executing it, should endeavour to increase the circulation of the work, by making it known among their acquaintances, and especially among those who are in the habit of purchasing small books for distribution among the people, school rewards, &c.: in this way much may be done to diminish the loss that may be incurred by the publication.

In this second edition, although the price has been slightly raised, it is not anticipated that purchasers of the work will object much to this, as the volume has thus been made in size and matter, and it is hoped in usefulness, double of the first edition; while the expenses of publication have in consequence become considerably more than double of what they were in the former case.

PREFACE.

IRELAND wants many things, and we have heard much concerning her wants. There is one thing however of which she has very great need, although there is little said about it in public, and that one thing is, a little history of some of the most important occurrences which have taken place in the Irish Church since its first foundation. We have already some large books, and perhaps one or two of moderate size, throwing some light on the matter; but we still want something comprehensive in plan, and published at such a price as to be within the reach of the poorest reader that desires to be informed on this interesting topic. It is greatly to be regretted that while there is abundance of little works to be found in every book-shop, on almost every subject which one can think of, there is not one to be found such as I here speak of. There are little books on geology and botany, arithmetic and cookery; little books of birds, and beasts, and fishes; little books on music and farming; little books on dress, and on card-playing; and I could wish that there were none worse than even the last; but with all these you cannot get to buy one little book about the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland.

And yet there can be no subject that ought to be more highly esteemed, after the sacred Scriptures, than the history of the Church ; of that part of it especially which has been established in the country in which we were born. Great part of the Bible itself is taken up with the history of the Jewish Church, and the account of the Almighty's dealings with it ; and although after the time of the holy apostles there were not inspired penmen to record with infallible accuracy the history of the Christian Church, still the subject does not cease to be interesting and instructive ; but on the contrary, the accounts of later ages, from the apostles' time down to our own, written by many of the pious and holy men who lived in them, are full of things well worth our study, and more useful too for us to know than a great deal of what is commonly read among us.

The history of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland ought to be studied with delight by Irishmen especially. For if the highest privilege which a man can enjoy in this world is to be truly a Christian, and that Christian Church to which we all claim to belong, is (as we say in the Apostles' Creed) the Catholic Church, next to being a Christian, and a good Catholic Christian, there can be no higher honour than that of being an Irishman. All that is worth desiring or honouring in the way of religion or of country, is in my mind comprehended in the three names " Irish Catholic Chris-

tian." I would have Christian for my surname, Irish for my Christian name, and Catholic for my middle name. I do not of course mean *Roman* Catholic ; for the phrase *Irish Roman* Catholic sounds queer in my ears, and almost like a contradiction in words ; and the man that is a Romanist can scarcely be, in spirit, nationality, and true patriotism, more than half an Irishman. I hope that my reader if not already of the same opinion with me on this point, may with the Lord's blessing be more inclined to my way of thinking, when he comes to the end of the following little history, and sees how great enemies the court of Rome, and its head the pope, have ever been to the national and religious freedom of Ireland.

We want, I said, a small and cheap book on this subject ; that it should possess these two qualities however is not enough : besides being of little size and cost, it should also be very accurate, and not contain a single statement which is not founded on good and trustworthy original authority, so that no candid reader shall have to object to any thing asserted in it, as if it were doubtful or untrue. It is the more necessary to be very cautious in this respect, because that from the want of such books as I speak of, the greatest ignorance has hitherto prevailed, and the grossest falsehoods and misrepresentations have been circulated and believed, concerning the state of religion here in old times.

In this little volume I have done what I could to supply a work answering the description above given ; and whatever be its imperfections in plan, style, or matter, it will be found I trust, an honest and faithful account of the facts recorded in it ; I have certainly endeavoured to the best of my knowledge, judgment, and conscience to make it so. My authorities for all the most important statements will be found given at the foot of the page.

The controversy between the Churches of Ireland and of Rome is not about mere questions of Church History, but about the vital and fundamental truths of Christianity revealed in the Word of God itself. It is not therefore to be expected that where the latter has been despised, and its testimony rejected, any knowledge of historical matters relating to religion, will touch the heart or awaken the conscience to a saving apprehension of the truths of the Gospel. Yet still when we see how much men are influenced by ignorant prejudices and false traditions, especially in matters of faith, it cannot but appear most necessary and important that the historical misrepresentations with which the Church of Rome has done so much to mislead the unlearned among us, should be met by true and plain statements, setting forth what was really the state of things connected with the ancient religion and ancient Church of our country. What use that foreign Church just mentioned has made of the national

feelings of our people, for advancing her own views and influence, is thus ably stated by the late Mr. Phelan.*

“The Papacy,” says he, “maintains its ascendancy, by an artful system of accommodation to the natural principles and motives of man. Of these it has chiefly taken to its aid in Ireland, that national spirit and pride of ancestry by which the lower classes of our countrymen are so amiably, yet so dangerously distinguished. The Irish are a fondly national people; they know little of their ancestors, but they believe of them every thing which enters into their conceptions of worth and greatness; and they feel a high, although a mournful consolation, in turning from their own condition to the supposed freedom, and glory, and happiness of other times. These principles have been incorporated into their creed—they receive their religion as the last bequest, and the last token of their almost canonised forefathers, and they cling to it with a devoted and desperate fidelity.

“To cherish and keep alive this persuasion among them, legends, miracles, and prophecies, are devised with lavish but adroit profusion. Their religion is made to look venerable through the vista of antiquity—interesting in the garb and attitude of decay; and this interest assumes a

* See Case of the Church of Ireland, stated by Declan. Milliken, 1824.

dearer, and this veneration a holier character, from the sympathy of the Church with the fallen fortunes of her children. Thus the faith of a zealous Roman Catholic, though not that which either the truly spiritual or the truly philosophic would prefer, comes upon him with the romantic power of a picturesque and melancholy grandeur. Its influence is aided by the habits of a rural life—it is recalled by the ruined abbey, and the tottering round tower—it is studiously associated with the hearts, the tombs, and the alters of its progenitors. It is similarly connected, and by similar artifices, with all those of whatsoever country, who in the first and purest ages of the Gospel departed this life in the faith and fear of God ; until through a long line of martyrs and confessors—through St. Patrick—through the apostles, it finally blends itself with the Saviour of the world. The ambition which such considerations inspire is not to be estimated by political arithmeticians ; it is not of earth alone ; it seeks to combine earth and heaven, and it tinges even dreams of worldly aggrandizement with a ray of brighter and purer illumination.”

Yet these considerations, which exercise so powerful an influence over the feelings of our countrymen, have been too much, one might say, almost entirely, slighted by us : the candle of sacred history has been too passively allowed to lie hid under the bushel, where the adversaries of

truth have endeavoured to conceal it ; and in the absence of its light, misconceptions rooted in prejudice, and cherished by the unwholesome food of misrepresentations, have attained to all the rank but unhealthy luxuriance natural to plants growing in a dark place. It is strange indeed and amazing that such ignorance should ever have prevailed, as does exist on so important a subject, and one so deeply interesting to every Irish Christian, as that of the Church History of our own country. There is not a little girl that has got any thing of a boarding-school education of the very plainest sort, who has not learned that in A.D. 1066, William the Conqueror invaded England, and established his sovereignty there. None of our children learn what is far more important for them to know, namely, how our own Church, that had been originally free and independant, was in the twelfth century reduced into obedience and subjection to the bishop of Rome. Which of our children has heard of the synod of Cashel? Nay, I will say, which of our parents? What one of them among five thousand has ever heard of the transactions of that synod, and of the age in which it was held? And yet that period is the turning point and pivot of our Church History.

I would make an humble effort in the following pages to do what others might have done better, but what has been altogether left undone ; and I

shall have the credit, at least so far as I know, of being the first to put in print for the use of my countrymen, a book of this sort, size, and price. It is for you parents and teachers, and friends, that it is intended. Present it to the young and inquiring, that they may learn a little at least of the state of their Church in times past, a deeply interesting, deplorably neglected subject: "tell ye your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation."

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION,

Addressed especially to those of my readers who are members
of the Church of Rome.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

The following little work is one which will, I have no doubt, be read by many of you with considerable interest. I am encouraged to anticipate this, both from the nature of the subject itself, and also from the kind reception given to the *first* edition, by different members of your communion, into whose hands it came. And I would further hope that the simple statement of facts here presented to your notice may, under the divine blessing, be made useful for the removing of many unjust prejudices and misconceptions. I am not so conceited as to imagine that I am entirely free from all prejudices myself,—who is so?—or that no traces of them can be discovered in this work. But I trust that I am incapable of knowingly misrepresenting *facts*, and facts will be found to form the principal part of the

contents of this work. They are given mostly in the words of original and authentic writers, with references directing the reader to those places where the passages quoted will be found ; and as far as I have introduced remarks or comments of my own, you will find them free on the one side from that acrimony and invective which irritates without convincing, and on the other, from that over-affectionate and coaxing style, which in matters connected with controversy, you would perhaps be inclined to look upon as *palaver* and *blarney*. Matter-of-fact statements are what I would desire to bring before you ; leaving it in great measure to your own sagacity to draw conclusions. And while in a sincere desire for your good, I would avoid wounding your feelings by any unnecessary asperity in speaking of your Church ; I am not at the same time ashamed nor afraid to express myself as being as decidedly opposed to Rome, as were the ancient Irish thirteen centuries ago, although I believe for far more serious grounds than those which then actuated them.

You will see from the whole tenor of this history, how utterly false is the supposition that the Church of Rome is the most ancient in this country. You will read here at what particular times many of its peculiarities were introduced among us. Thus you will see that in St. Patrick's time the clergy were allowed to marry, as they were indeed long after ;

that he and St. Columba, with their followers, were ignorant of such a place as purgatory ; and that Holy Scripture was what they were most celebrated for teaching to all their pupils, and the chief cause of their great reputation : that the first pope's legate came to Ireland in 1139, that is seven hundred years after the introduction of Christianity by St. Patrick ; and that as to the general feeling of the old Irish Christians towards the Church of Rome, they were so far from having any special regard for her authority in their brightest days, that they rather disputed with her in matters of small importance, (although then considered to be of most vital consequence,) and things in which she was right, as for instance, the rule for finding Easter. And in fine, whatever practices similar to those of the modern Church of Rome may have been admitted into this land before the twelfth century, you will see that it was not until that period that her authority was formally submitted to, or her doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, completely adopted by the Irish Church. You will find that St. Malachy and other Irish ecclesiastics, with King Henry II. of England, were the persons who brought this work to perfection ; and that those hated Saxons, as many of you are taught to style the English, were the persons by whose influence chiefly the system of Romanism was first established in Ireland.

It is of very great importance that you should

observe, that the authorities for all the principal facts contained in this volume, are not what you would call Protestant writers, whose testimony you might naturally receive with suspicion, but many of them persons who lived long before the *name* of Protestant was used. They were men whose testimony, so far as it is applied to the present work, will be received with respect by all, but with the highest degree of veneration by yourselves, most of them being claimed by you as bishops, saints, and confessors, of that ancient Church of which you consider yourselves to be now the only true representatives. St. Patrick, Bede, Aldhelm, Bernard, &c., are all numbered in the catalogue of your saints, and such other *ancient* writers as I have quoted, are mostly high authorities with your Church; while even such *modern* ones, as O'Sullivan, Lombard, &c., whom I have had occasion to refer to in a later period of the work, were the most devoted followers and promoters of the system to which you yourselves belong.

You will see here what a character our country had for learning in ancient times; and how strangers crowded to it from other lands, to be educated here, looking upon Ireland as the principal nursery of religion and learning in Europe. You will see too, what a noble spirit of zeal for the diffusion of Christian knowledge was manifested by the ancient people of this land, and how they were thus in-

fluenced to receive from foreign parts the children of parents high and low alike, whom they supported and provided with instruction, and books to read, gratuitously. And you will see that the study which they prized most highly, and cultivated most carefully, was that of the Word of God; and that it was to read the Scriptures particularly, that so many persons came to study in Ireland in former times.

You cannot fail in reading these accounts to be struck with this last feature of ancient Irish Christianity, as a remarkable one. You will see how well St. Patrick was acquainted with the text of Holy Scripture, and how fond he was of quoting it, and how much the same sacred study was attended to by St. Columba and his followers. You will read of *fifty* persons coming in one vessel from the Continent (in St. Senan's time) into Cork harbour, on their way to the famous school of Iniscarra, on the Lee, (about seven miles above the city of Cork,) their object being "either to lead a life of stricter discipline, or to *improve themselves in the study of the Holy Scriptures.*" You will see that it was "*for the purpose of studying the Word of God*, or else to observe a stricter life," that numbers of the nobility and lower classes from England, came to this country in the seventh century; that it was thus Edilwin, who was afterwards a bishop in England, came here to be educated; and so Agilbert, who

was afterwards bishop of Paris, “spent no small time in Ireland *for the sake of reading the Scriptures* ;” and the famous Priest Egbert in like manner, “spent a long exile in Ireland for love to Christ,” and thus became “*deeply learned in the Scriptures.*” and Alfred, who was king of Northumberland, having been educated in Ireland, is described as one who was “*most learned in the Scriptures.*” And the same motive, a desire for this sacred knowledge, was that which brought hither Edilhun, and Eahfrid, and Willibrord, the missionary archbishop of Utrecht, and Sulgen, the bishop of St. David’s, and so many others whom we cannot name here. And on Sundays when the people flocked to church it was with a desire “*to hear the Word of God* ;” and when St. Columba went as a missionary to heathen Scotland, his object was, we are told, “*to preach the Word of God*” to those benighted regions. So that in fine, we need not wonder that John, the son of Sulgen above mentioned, in writing of the Irish, describes them, even so lately as the eleventh century, as being “a nation famous for the Word of God.”

There are others who address you oftener than I do, and who possess more influence with you, both clergymen and laymen ; and they might have supplied you with information on this subject, had they chosen to do so ; but unfortunately it is one in which these persons have generally shewed little

interest ; they to whom I allude have taken little pains to excite you to follow the holy and instructive examples of the ancient saints of Ireland, or to make you acquainted with the facts of the history of our ancient Church ; but have rather perverted and caricatured the lives of those holy men, and the history of that ancient Church, by the false legends and absurd miracles they have interwoven with them ; things which are only calculated to blind the eyes to what is really worthy of our imitation in such examples. But those teachers have concerned themselves little in supplying you in general with any useful information as to the most important facts of ecclesiastical history ; this answers not their purpose. They have found more pleasure in directing your attention to topics and themes which appeal to the viler passions of corrupt human nature ; the remembrance of past wrongs, the contemplation of those at present existing, or supposed to exist, hatred, malice, and revenge. What a Christian is bound by his profession to forget, they studiously take care that you should remember. What is really worthy of a Christian to remember and imitate, they trouble themselves not much to bring to your mind.

Fellow-Irishmen, where is now the spirit of that holy Church of old, which caused Ireland to be exalted through righteousness, and high among the nations in the glorious eminence of Scriptural know-

ledge and holiness? Where is the true descendant of that Church, which sent forth her pupils through the world, well grounded in the knowledge of the Word of God, to be priests, bishops, and evangelists? Where is now the Church that exalts the Word of God, and raises its sacred banner high above the topmost tower of the sanctuary? Which is the Church that translates and prints, distributes and circulates, teaches and preaches "*the Word of God?*" Or if Egbert and Agilbert, and Willibrord, and Sulgen, were in these days to come to Ireland, to study the sacred Scriptures, whither should they turn?—or with what Church would they be likely to hope for most encouragement and help in such an employment? Would they not find some teachers here who discourage and exclude, hate and abhor, denounce and curse, destroy and burn, the sacred Volume of divine revelation; and others who cherish and encourage it as the ancient Church did, believing it to be the best and most necessary foundation of all education, and the knowledge and love of it a nation's brightest glory? Can you guess who these two classes of teachers are? And can you doubt to which of them those ancient saints, or the less eminent persons that accompanied them, would have been most likely to apply to for aid in the object which brought them to our land?

Let us handle the matter with all plainness of speech.—You meet a man on a Sunday with a Bible

in his hand : what Church do you think he belongs to ? I do not suppose you will have much trouble in concluding that he is no Romanist ; and we just as readily conclude, that they who shrink from the use of the book as dangerous and hurtful, and are afraid to place it in the hands of the people, are no followers of the ancient Church of Ireland, but are as opposed to her practices as they are to those of Christ and his apostles.

What Church has given to the people of Ireland the Word of God in their own tongue ? And what Church has set her face against their reading in their native language its holy and comforting truths ? Answer it men of Kingscourt, or Ballinascreen, or Abbeyfeale, or ye of Ventry, in the midst of whom it is my privilege to bring this work to its close. Yes ; the reply is to be found in the curses and threatenings, the persecution and injuries you have many of you suffered for daring to exercise the privilege of free Irish Christians, and for presuming to receive the gift put into your hand by the mercy of your God, and the instrumentality of His holy Church.

But, blessed be God, persecution has failed to produce its intended effect ; and curses from Romish altars have proved but powerless engines to resist the spread of divine truth, when met by patient forbearance on the part of the poor converts and Scripture readers ; men whose earnest prayer, I trust,

is, that God would give their enemies a better spirit, and lead them to the acknowledgment of a more pure and holy faith. The light of Scriptural knowledge and truth has begun again to shine in places long lying in gross darkness and ignorance; and in this very place where I now write, hundreds around have returned to the bosom of their ancient and now Scriptural Church, which their forefathers left in Queen Elizabeth's reign; and they are now enjoying the privileges and ordinances of that Church, ministered to them *in their native tongue*, by one whom I am proud to be able to call an old and valued friend, the Rev. Thomas Moriarty, in whose house I pen these lines. That God may bless and extend the knowledge of his sacred Word among you, to the salvation and edification of your souls, is the heart's desire of your

Friend and servant in the Lord,

R. K.

Parsonage, Ventry, July 8, 1843.

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CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND.

Genl

— Thos. Sem.

§ 1.—OF THE BEGINNING OF CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

WHEN we make inquiry concerning the origin and first beginnings of Christianity in Ireland, our thoughts turn naturally to St. Patrick, whom we have so often heard mentioned as the apostle of our island: and from the way in which he is spoken of by many, we might be inclined to think that he was the first person who came to preach the Gospel in this country. It is, however, a fact admitted by the best historians, Roman Catholic and Reformed, that there were many Christians here before he commenced his ministry; and the south of Ireland in particular is pointed to as having been distinguished above the other parts, for the number of converts to the faith already to be found there, before the visit of this celebrated individual.

Writers on the subject are pretty generally agreed in fixing on A.D. 432 as the year in which St. Patrick came to commence his missionary labours in Ireland. In the preceding year, A.D. 431, another eminent Christian teacher, named Palladius, had arrived here, as a missionary from Celestine, who was at that time Bishop of Rome. The ancient Chronicle of Prosper, in which his mission is first recorded, gives us the following brief account of it :—“Palladius having been ordained by Pope Celestine, is sent as first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ.” This statement of Prosper is somewhat ambiguous, and leaves us uncertain whether he meant to say that Palladius was to be the *chief* bishop of the Irish, or that he was the *first in point of time* who exercised the episcopal office among them. However this be, Palladius had but little success, and it would seem as little perseverance, in his mission; and after having, as tradition informs us, baptized a few converts, and built three churches for their use, he met with such discouragement and opposition from the enemies of the Gospel, as caused him to withdraw from his work before a year had expired.

from the commencement of it. The part of the country which was the scene of his brief labours is supposed to have been somewhere on the confines of Wicklow and Wexford. From that he withdrew to Britain, and died very soon after. The manner in which his mission to Ireland is spoken of in the words just quoted from Prosper's Chronicle, illustrates the fact already stated, that there were Christians in Ireland before those whom St. Patrick was the means of converting from heathenism, for Palladius is spoken of as having been sent to those who were already believers in Christ.

St. Patrick himself, in a tract called his "Confession," (which the most learned writers admit to be a genuine work of his,) makes use of language which implies that others had preached the Gospel before himself in some parts at least of Ireland: for in that tract, addressing the Irish people, he says to them, "I journeyed in every direction for your sakes, even to remote places to which no person had ever come to baptize or ordain clergymen:" from which it is evident that some of the less remote parts had been visited by Christian missionaries already. Several earlier authors also have

passages in their works which seem to express the same thing. Thus, Eusebius, a celebrated writer of Church History, who lived about A.D. 325, tells us that some of the apostles crossed the ocean to the British Isles. St. Chrysostom, also, writing a little later, about A.D. 390, informs us that there were in his time many persons in the British Isles familiar with the Holy Scriptures. His words are, "Although thou didst go unto the ocean and those *British Isles*, although thou didst sail unto the Euxine sea, although thou didst go to the southern quarters, thou shouldst hear *all men every where* discoursing matters out of the Scripture, with another voice indeed, but not with another faith, and with a different tongue, but with an according judgment." The use of the plural word "Isles" here shews that the remark of St. Chrysostom refers to Ireland as well as England. Moreover, we learn from St. Jerome, that the celebrated Cœlestius, who flourished somewhat before this, and is noted in Church History as a promoter of the Pelagian heresy, was an Irishman.

And further when we consider that it is almost certain that the Gospel was preached in Britain at

the close of the first century, or as some, not without reason, suppose, even before the death of St. Paul, we may well conceive that it must have been known in Ireland much about the same time. Wherever the march of conquest, or the track of commerce opened a road, the diffusive spirit of zeal and love which actuated the first Christians was sure to enter on the path, and seek to extend its blessed influence to the most distant lands. And if the power of the Roman arms, and the spread of their conquests, had rendered even remote Britain an object of interest to the world in the first ages of Christianity, the coasts of Ireland too, though less exposed from their situation to the hostilities of the invader, were, through the medium of trade, even better known to strangers than those of the neighbouring isle. The historian Tacitus, speaking of Ireland, says, "The soil and climate, and the dispositions and habits of the people differ not much from Britain: the approaches to the country, and its ports are better known, through commercial intercourse and merchantmen." In a country considered so accessible as this, we need not wonder that Christianity established its first footing at a

period too early to be comprehended within the limits of any of our authentic historical records ; and we must only be content to remain in ignorance of the names of those who first professed and published in our island home the sacred name of our Lord and Master : looking forward rather to the time, when through the efficacy of His meritorious work of love, we shall be privileged to meet them face to face in the enjoyment of His presence and eternal glory.

§ 2.—OF THE HISTORIES OF ST. PATRICK WHICH ARE EXTANT, AND OF THE REALITY OF HIS EXISTENCE.

And now, with regard to St. Patrick himself, the history of his life, and the facts recorded of him, contain many interesting particulars: indeed his name is so intimately connected with the infancy of Christianity in this country, that every thing which we can know for certain concerning him must be interesting to Irishmen. In the brief account which I am about to give of this great man, I shall select for the information of my

readers, a few of those circumstances in his life which are most important for us to know, and which have the greatest appearance, as learned men think, of having been truly stated in those writings in which they are recorded.

And first I must tell you that a great many lives of St. Patrick have been written at different times and by different authors. Some of those at present in existence were composed nearly seven hundred years ago, and some others of them perhaps hundreds of years before that. It is said that there were several written even by his own immediate disciples, which have been lost with a great many others: and when the monk Joceline set about writing his memoirs of the saint in the twelfth century, he found as he says, that sixty writers had engaged in the same work before himself.

Of those lives of St. Patrick which have been preserved to our time, seven of the most important were published together in a very large volume, by an Irish Roman Catholic priest named Colgan, who lived in Flanders in the time of King Charles I. Of these seven, the first is written in the Irish language, and is called the Hymn of Fiech; it is so

named from its being written in verse, and from its having been composed, as it is thought by many, by Fiech, who lived in the time of St. Patrick, and was bishop of Sletty in Leinster. It is certainly very ancient : Dr. O'Connor, one of the most learned Roman Catholic priests of the past generation, supposes it to have been written in A.D. 540. The next five lives which follow in this set, are less ancient, and are attributed to various authors, whom we need not here mention : each succeeding one is longer than that which precedes it ; and the seventh, which is that of Joceline, is the longest of all. This writer was a Welchman, a monk of the abbey of Furness, who lived in the time of Henry II., and was brought over into Ireland by John de Courcey, the English invader and conqueror of the eastern part of Ulster.

These last six lives of the saint are written in Latin : a good deal of the same matter runs through them all ; yet still they disagree extremely with each other in many of the principal events of his life recorded in them ; and state so differently the year of his birth, the time he spent in study, the circumstances of his ordination, his labours, and

age when he died, that it is difficult to tell which account is the true one, or whether any of them be so. Nevertheless, it is likely that many of the incidents recorded by these writers are in the main true; as indeed their statements are sometimes confirmed from other sources of information: it is probable that they collected whatever anecdotes or other accounts of the saint they could, some false, some true; but instead of exercising a sound judgment in endeavouring to find out what was really authentic and worth recording, and what should be rejected as improbable and false, they seem rather to have heaped together stories of every sort good and bad, that might help to swell their narratives, and answer the worthless end of gratifying the corrupt taste for the marvellous which is so common among men: thus these narratives became filled with the most senseless and improbable accounts of miracles and wonders said to have been performed by the saint. Joceline's life of him especially contains an amazing collection of such trash.

Even to this day do these ancient legends of fictitious miracles circulate among us to a considerable extent; badly translated portions of them

supply the vulgar sort with sixpenny lives of St. Patrick, which may be had at the lowest book-stall; and there are not wanting volumes of more comely appearance, and published by authors of well-sounding names, in which the like fabulous wonders are served out to such of the better classes as care to read them.

But however readily these stories are believed among the more ignorant and credulous of the Roman Catholic body, their more learned and well-informed writers reject such stuff, and exhibit a better judgment with regard to it; thus, a very learned French Roman Catholic writer named Tillemont, having alluded to the numerous facts recorded of St. Patrick, makes these judicious observations on them:—"We readily believe that there are several of them true, but there are likewise several which are clearly false. So finding nothing certain here, we prefer contenting ourselves for his history with a writing called his 'Confession,' which is believed to be his own, and which is truly worthy of him. We shall not find in it so large a number of facts, but I believe there will be enough of them to support the ex-

treme veneration which the Church of Ireland has for him, and more effectually perhaps than this great collection of *miracles, improbable enough, to say no more of them*, that we read of in his lives." (Tillemont, *Memoires*, vol. xvi. p. 455.) Bollandus, another of their learned writers, says in like manner of the lives of Irish saints, that "they have been patched together by most fabulous authors, and are none of them more ancient than the twelfth century."

The "Confession" of St. Patrick is however considered a genuine work of his, by Tillemont, Bollandus, Archbishop Ussher, and other men eminent for learning: it must be regarded therefore as the most authentic written memorial of the saint which we have, and as being, so far as it goes, the best help within our reach to the knowledge of his life and actions. We shall have occasion to refer to it again presently when treating of these points.

The false miracles which I have spoken of, have become so associated in the minds of many with St. Patrick's name, as to lead them to doubt whether any such person ever existed, or whether

the miracles and the man be not alike imaginary, as always going both together, and appearing to rest on the same evidence. This doubt, to whatever extent it may have prevailed, has never been expressed by any of our deep or learned historical writers. Dr. Ledwich alone, a man of considerable information, who published a large book on the Antiquities of Ireland, some forty years since, has made himself singular by advocating strongly in that work the reasonableness of the doubt, or rather the unreasonableness of supposing that St. Patrick had any real existence before the ninth century. Dr. L. was able to point to only two individuals who had slightly expressed the same doubt before himself, one in 1618, the other in the year 1700 ; and his own reasons though strongly urged, are not at best very forcible.

As to the miracles, they, however false, so far from proving his non-existence, strongly attest his existence: for miracles would never have been ascribed except to one who was already known in the traditions of the country, and it would have been more wonderful if they had not been attributed to him: for supposing him to have

preached here and converted the natives of this isle, without even claiming to himself the power of working miracles, it is not in the nature of things to suppose, that afterwards when his real actions were less fresh in men's minds, they could refrain from ascribing to him such powers. The more uninstructed and credulous especially, having a traditional knowledge of his wonderful exertions and their wonderful success, and being taught to remember his labours, and self-denial, and doctrine, and toilings for their sakes, with affectionate gratitude, would soon be inclined to enlarge upon what they had heard, and go on embellishing the truth with additions of the marvellous. It was accordingly many centuries after St. Patrick's death, that the great multitude of miracles connected with his name were invented and inserted in his life.

Another argument against St. Patrick's existence has been derived from the circumstance that there is little or no mention of him in any writers who lived within the next three hundred years after his death. This objection would have more weight, if any authors of those ages could be pointed to, who ought to have mentioned him and did not.

Dr. O'Connor, having suggested several writings ascribed to that period, in which his name is mentioned, adds, "that even if all these authorities and manuscripts in which St. Patrick is expressly mentioned were destroyed, the laws of just criticism forbid that after the lapse of so many ages, and the destruction of so many monasteries and libraries as formerly existed in Ireland before the Danish invasions, the *silence* alone of such authors as remain (supposing such silence) should be admitted in evidence to overthrow a national tradition, so universal in every part of Ireland, Scotland, and Mann, so immemorial, and so incorporated as that of St. Patrick is, with the traditionary usages, names, anniversaries, monastic ruins, and popular manners of one hundred millions of Irishmen who have existed since his time." (Columbanus ad Hibernos; No. 3.)

Dr. Ledwich has some other arguments of less importance against the accounts of St. Patrick commonly received among us: they are not, however, such as require much sagacity or depth to reply to, and they cannot conveniently be dwelt upon in a work of such narrow limits as the pre-

sent. Suffice it to conclude by saying that the most learned men of all parties, and authors in general, are sufficiently agreed in receiving as true the principal facts recorded in St. Patrick's life. Of these authors it is enough to mention Archbishop Ussher, our most famous and learned writer on the Antiquities of the British Churches, Bishop Stillingfleet, and Bishop Lloyd, who have handled the same subject in their writings, and Collier, the principal historian of the Church of England; to whom we may add the learned Mosheim, so well known among students of Church History for his useful work on that subject.

§ 3.—OF THE EARLY PART OF ST. PATRICK'S LIFE.

And now that I have shewn you that we may safely believe, with all our most learned writers, that there did indeed exist such a person as St. Patrick; I will tell you what is known for certain, and received as true, concerning his life and actions. And first, as to the place of his birth, there is much difference of opinion about it, so

that we cannot say for certain what place may claim most justly the honour of his nativity. Some are of opinion that he was born in Scotland, near the town of Kirkpatrick : others say in Cornwall, and many others in the north of France ; at Boulogne or near it, according to some. This latter account, which makes him a native of France, is perhaps the most reasonable and satisfactory. In his Confession he tells us he was born at a place called Benaven ; the Hymn of Fiech says his birth place was Nemthur ; but it is impossible, after the lapse of so many ages, to determine with certainty the position of the town or district so indicated.

His name was originally Succoth ; but this has been generally forgotten in the Latin name of Patrick, by which he is commonly known. As to his parentage, his father is allowed to have been a Briton : and both the "Confession" of St. Patrick, and his biographer Joceline agree in stating that he was a deacon named Calphurnius, and also that the grandfather of our saint was a priest named Potitus. It is clear, therefore, that he was born of Christian parents, and it also appears from his Confession, that the Gospel had

been published and received to some extent in his own country : a sufficient evidence of this will be found in the next extract which we shall have to make from that work.

The youth of St. Patrick was cast in troublous times : and his native land was then continually subject to invasion from various tribes of lawless adventurers, who were accustomed to overrun and pillage every district which could afford them hopes of spoil. Thus it came to pass, that in his sixteenth year he was taken captive by some Irish pirates, and sold as a slave to a Pagan Prince in the north of Ireland. This trouble, which involved many of his countrymen with himself, he speaks of in his Confession as a just judgment on them for their sins.—“I was brought into Ireland,” he says, “in captivity along with so many thousands of persons, according to what we deserved for our turning astray from God, and not keeping his commandments, and for being disobedient to our priests, who pointed out to us the way of salvation.” The part of Ulster in which he had now to endure the hardships of slavery appears to have been situated near Ballymena, in the county

of Antrim : he was there employed by his master, Milcho, in feeding his cattle, and had to pine away for years under the multiplied sufferings connected with such a state of bondage.

But “by sorrow of countenance the heart is made better,” and affliction and heaviness, which are so often made effectual by grace to the conversion of sinners, had this blessed effect in the present instance. Patrick had as yet profited little by the instructions received in his childhood: had he come to Ireland, as he tells us, “ignorant of the true God, and “destitute of faith in him;” but during the chastening which he underwent in slavery, an all-important change was wrought in his heart, of which he speaks in terms of the most lively gratitude towards him who was the author of it. “There it was,” saith he, “that the Lord brought me to a sense of the unbelief of my heart, that I might, even at a late season, call my sins to remembrance, and turn with all my heart to my Lord, who regarded my low estate, and taking pity on my youth and ignorance, watched over me before I knew him or had sense to discern between good and evil, and

counselled me and comforted me, as a father doth a son. (Confession, chap. i, § 1.)

A little farther on, having again alluded to the great goodness of the Almighty towards him, he tells us with what diligence he was led to seek for higher measures of grace, and further advancement in spiritual life. "When I had come to Ireland," he says, "I was employed every day in feeding cattle, and frequently in the day I used to have recourse to prayer, and the love of God was thus growing stronger and stronger, and His fear and faith were increasing in me, so that in a single day I would give utterance to as many as an hundred prayers, and in the night almost as many. And I used to remain in the woods too, and on the mountain, and would rise for prayer before daylight, in the midst of snow and ice and rain, and felt no injury from it, nor was there any sloth in me, as I now see, because the spirit was fervent within me." (Chap. ii.)

And once again, in allusion to the same subject, he speaks thus—"I was not from my childhood a believer in the only God, but continued in death and in unbelief until I was severely chastened : and

in truth I have been humbled by hunger and nakedness, and it was my lot to traverse Ireland every day sore against my will, until I was almost exhausted. But this proved rather a benefit to me, because by means of it I have been corrected by the Lord, and he has fitted me for being at this day what was once far from me, so that I should interest or concern myself about the salvation of others, when I used to have no such thoughts even for myself."

The youth's slavery in Ireland at this time lasted for six years: at the end of which period he was enabled to regain his liberty and return to his own country. He states in his Confession that he was directed by a vision which appeared to him, to the vessel, then lying in a distant port, which was to convey him to his home. After his return he had the misfortune to fall into captivity a second time; but this latter trial was of comparatively short duration, and after an absence of sixty days, his parents had the happiness of seeing him restored to them once more.

§ 4.—ST. PATRICK RESOLVES TO BECOME A
MISSIONARY—HIS DIFFICULTIES—ENCOURAGE-
MENTS—PREPARATORY STUDIES—AND ORDI-
NATION.

And now that he was possessed of liberty, and able to select an occupation for himself, St. Patrick shewed in his choice that love for the souls of others, and that anxiety for their welfare which is natural to those who have felt the power and influence of true religion in their own hearts: and retaining no resentment against those who had done him so many injuries, he was rather desirous to return them good for evil by making them acquainted with the knowledge of that Gospel which was his own chief delight and happiness. His heart thus became set on the conversion of the people among whom he had so long dwelt, and when the love of his Redeemer excited in him a missionary zeal and anxiety for propagating the faith, the circumstance of his having had opportunities of studying the language, habits, and feelings, of the people of Ireland, naturally directed his thoughts towards them, as the most suitable objects on whom to bestow his exertions.

His project however, when made known to his parents and friends, met with much opposition from them, and their arguments, entreaties, gifts, and tears, were used on the one side to dissuade him from the missionary work ; while on the other side those promises and precepts of Holy Scripture which encourage men to engage in it pressed on his mind with still greater force. A nightly vision also appeared to him, as he tells us, to combine its influence with theirs. After having mentioned his second captivity, he goes on to say, “I was again after a few years in Britain with my parents, who received me as their son, and solemnly entreated me that I should now at least, after so great tribulations as I had endured, go away from them no more. And there I saw in a vision of the night a person named Victricius coming as if from Ireland with innumerable letters ; and he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter, running thus, ‘The voice of the people of Ireland ;’ and as I was reading the commencement of the letter, I thought at that very moment that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Focluth, which is adjoining to the western sea, and

they cried out thus, as it were with one voice, ‘We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk still among us;’ and I was very much pricked to the heart, and could read no further, and so I awoke. ‘Thanks be to God the Lord who after very many years hath granted to them according to their cry.’ (Confession, chap. iii.)

Again he says, (chap. iv.) “Whence was it that I was enabled afterwards to know and value so great and healthful a gift of God, in such a way as to give up home and parents and the many offers that were made to me with weeping and tears; and I incurred displeasure there from some of my seniors, but under the guidance of God I in no wise consented or gave in to them, (yet not I, but the grace of God which prevailed in me;) and I withstood all, in order that I might come to preach the Gospel to the people of Ireland, and bear with ill-treatment from the unbelieving, so that I should hear reproaches cast on my journey, and that I should have to endure persecution even to bonds, giving up myself and all my advantages for the sake of others’ good.” And again (chap. v.) he tells us that “many were for hindering this mission, and

some among them were speaking and saying behind my back, ‘Why does he expose himself to peril among enemies who know not God?’” “Now therefore,” he adds, “I have in my simple way intimated to my brethren and fellow-servants, why it is that I have preached and preach still for the confirmation of your faith. Would to God that you too may aim at still nobler objects, and succeed in them still more happily : this shall be my glory, since a wise son is the glory of his father.” Thus may we even now hear a voice coming as it were from the tomb of St. Patrick, to stimulate and inspirit the missionary zeal of Irish Christians for the propagation of the Gospel throughout the world.

But to return to himself, what most influenced his mind and filled him with ardour for the work before him, was the language of Holy Scripture in reference to it : and we may easily see, from the number of texts quoted by him on this subject, that he was well read in the Bible, and knew how to apply it to the regulation of his life. I must venture on a rather long extract on this subject ; for though to some it may appear tedious, yet I cannot

withhold what I know will interest some of those who will read my little book in the wilds of Kerry, or Tyrone, or in other parts of our country where the Irish Bible is read; and where some may be found, I trust, who will love St. Patrick more when they find what a good scholar he was in the Holy Word of God. “Therefore,” says he, “it becomes us to fish diligently and well, as the Lord tells us when he saith, ‘*Come after me, I will make you to become fishers of men;*’* and again he saith in the prophets, ‘*Lo I send many fishers and hunters, saith the Lord, &c.*’† Wherefore we ought to stretch our nets carefully, that a plentiful assemblage and multitude may be caught for God, and there may be clergymen every where to baptize and exhort the poor and needy people; as the Lord saith in the gospel where he commands and tells us—‘*Go ye therefore to teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo I am with you always, even to the*

* S. Matt. iv. 19.

† Jerem. xvi. 16.

*end of the world ;** and again he saith, ‘*Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.*’ †—‘*And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a testimony unto all nations, and then shall the end come ;*’ ‡ and again the prophet of the Lord in his preaching saith—‘*And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith the Lord, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams. And also upon my servants and my handmaids will I pour out of my Spirit in those days, and they shall prophesy ;*’ § and Osee saith, ‘*I will call her my people which was not my people, and have mercy upon her that had not obtained mercy, and it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said unto them, ‘ye are not my people,’ there shall they be called the children of the living God.*’ ” || I shall not say any thing here of the manner in which these texts are applied, but quote them only to shew the writer’s knowledge of

* S. Matt. xxviii. 19–20.

§ Joel, ii. 28.

† S. Mark, xvi. 15–16.

|| Hosea, i. 10, and ii. 23.

‡ S. Matt. xxiv. 14.

the letter of the Scripture, and willingness to be influenced by it in his life and practice.

His zeal and anxiety to be engaged in preaching the Gospel to the heathen being sufficient to overcome all hinderances, he appears to have applied himself with much earnestness to fit his mind for the great object he had in view ; and as the troubles of his younger days had deprived him of the opportunities of education which others enjoyed, he felt that it was the more needful for him afterwards to apply himself with diligence and devotedness to such studies as might be a useful preparation for the solemn undertaking which he had in view : for he did not think that he should be the better preacher for ignorance, nor did he desire to serve God with that which cost him nought. He therefore betook himself, as we are informed by his biographers, to the celebrated St. Martin, bishop of Tours in France, and placing himself under his care and direction, he studied with him for several years, submitting during that time to the austere and strict discipline to which all the pupils of his tutor were accustomed. He also spent some time with Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, engaged in

the same way, and profiting by his Christian instructions : and having been by these two prelates admitted to the holy orders of deacon and priest, he travelled (by the advice, it appears, of St. Germanus) to the south of France, and taking up his abode in the island of Lerins in the Tuscan Sea, remained there for some time with the monks of a celebrated collegiate institution in that place, prosecuting his studies, and growing, as we may well suppose, in piety and Christian experience.

It is uncertain by whom St. Patrick was ordained a bishop : some Roman Catholic historians, to be sure, would have us to believe that Pope Celestine appointed him to that holy office, and sent him with a commission from himself to preach to the Irish. One of the best, however, of those historians, Dr. Lanigan, admits that it cannot be certainly told what bishop consecrated the saint to the episcopal office ; yet he is of opinion that he came here with the authority and sanction of Pope Celestine, somehow or other ; “he ought to have done so, therefore, he must have done it,” seems the chief argument for this notion. But had such been the case, Prosper, the intimate friend of

Celestine, would surely have mentioned it in his Chronicle, published several years after, as he did the trifling attempt of Palladius; he does not, however, once make mention of St. Patrick's name, but is altogether silent concerning him.

And so is Platina, a very valuable and well-informed author, of the Roman Church, who wrote the Lives of the Popes, down to Sixtus IV., A.D. 1471. He tells of Palladius, but has not a word about St. Patrick in his Life of Pope Celestine: none could have had more free access than he had to documents connected with the history of the Roman Church, and surely if he could have found any that would have proved Celestine to have been the author of so great a work as the conversion of Ireland, he would not have failed to mention it.

Archbishop Ussher was indeed of opinion that St. Patrick had a commission from Rome; but since the days of this eminently learned man, the question has been further sifted, and the additional light thus thrown upon it, has tended to make it appear highly probable, or almost certain, that St. Patrick never was at Rome, and that he never received from Rome any commission whatsoever.*

* See of the Church of Ireland stated by Declar. (McPhelan).

A very ancient manuscript, preserved in England, in the Cotton Library, which Dr. O'Connor considers to have been written in the ninth century, (and Ussher and other learned men supposed to be some centuries older still,) mentions that the "Bishops Germanus and Lupus nurtured him in sacred literature, and ordained him and made him the chief bishop of their school among the British and Irish." This some would take for a sufficient evidence that it was from Germanus and Lupus that St. Patrick received the episcopal office; but there is no use in asserting strongly what cannot be demonstrated forcibly, nor depended on as unquestionably true; and it becomes us rather to speak modestly of things which have puzzled the most learned inquirers into these matters. Since then they have been unable satisfactorily to settle the question, and since it is after all of little moment, we need not here dwell on it, but content ourselves with this general conclusion, that it appears in a very high degree of probability that St. Patrick never was in Rome, nor received from Rome any suggestion of his undertaking, but was appointed and consecrated a bishop for the Irish

mission by some bishop or bishops of the Church of France.

§ 5.—ST. PATRICK'S MISSIONARY LABOURS AND DEATH.

Patrick had returned from slavery in Ireland in his twenty-third year: it was not until very long after that he fulfilled his desire of coming as a missionary to preach the Gospel to our countrymen; for he is said to have been advanced in years when he commenced his labours here, some accounts making him sixty years old at that period of his life, and stating that he lived for sixty years more working here in the ministry; while others again make his age forty-five at the beginning of his mission, and seventy-eight at the time of his death; leaving thus thirty-three years to be spent in his Irish labours: but this is one of those particulars concerning which, amid the variety of differing opinions, I shall not take on me to say anything for certain. It does not appear whether his delaying so long as he did to revisit this country, arose

from his considering so long a course of preparation necessary, or from his ardour for the project having relaxed, and returning afterwards with fresh vigour.

In A.D. 432, as has been already observed, St. Patrick came to preach to the Irish ; bringing with him, as we are told, many companions, whose piety and learning made them useful assistants in his work. He first landed in some part of Leinster ; (in Wicklow, according to some writers ;) but meeting here with much opposition from the enmity of the Pagans, considered it best to withdraw for a time from that part of the island, and turn his attention to some other quarter. And, therefore, having embarked again in the same vessel which brought him to Ireland, he came by sea to the northern province where he had formerly been a captive ; and landed again in the county of Down, (in the bay of Dundrum ?) where he began to preach with great success, and gained numerous converts to the faith which he propagated. One of the first of these was Dichu, prince of the territory where he landed who after his conversion showed his zeal for the Christian cause, by taking care to have a church

provided there for the use of the converts in that quarter. St. Patrick then visited Milcho, his former master, and strove to effect his conversion ; but his pious endeavours proved in this case unsuccessful, and he returned again to Down.

Next year, A.D. 433, it appears that he preached at Easter, before Leogaire, the supreme monarch of Ireland, at Tarah in Meath, where the national convention or parliament was then assembled : and the power with which he urged upon them the truths of the Gospel was such, that the king himself became a convert to Christianity, and great multitudes of his subjects soon followed his example. After his having preached through the territory of Meath, Connaught seems next to have claimed his attention, and in it he met with signal success, for thousands heard the word with gladness, and embraced the faith ; and especially, we are told, in that district whose inhabitants he had formerly seen in a vision, beseeching him to come and labour among them.

Returning through Ulster, St. Patrick next visited Leinster, and carried on there his missionary work, with similar success, the princes

of the country embracing his doctrines with readiness, and encouraging the spread of them amongst their subjects. After having spent some time in these parts, he began to think of visiting Munster. The reason why he left this part of Ireland for the last was probably, because the number of Christians already existing in the south made his presence less necessary there, than in other places.

At length, however, he bent his steps towards this quarter, and came to Cashel, where the royal residence of Munster was then situated. Ængus, prince of the country, soon became a convert, and co-operated with St. Patrick in arranging and settling the state of the Church in his kingdom. Tradition informs us that “King Ængus and St. Patrick, with all the people, did ordain that in the city and see of Ailbe (i. è. Emly) should be the archbishopric of the whole province of Munster;” and we are told upon like authority that St. Patrick consecrated to the episcopal office, Ailbe, Declan, Kiaran, and Ibar, four holy men who had been preaching in Munster before he came there. These accounts are, however, very uncertain, and not to

be depended upon; but appear full of chronological difficulties, and at variance with the best records of that age which remain to our time.

From Munster, after ending his labours there, St. Patrick went to the abbey of Saul in Down: here, in the place where success first crowned his labours, he brought them to a close; and after having founded in A.D. 472 the cathedral church of Armagh, spent his latter days in retirement. He was buried in Down.

The particular circumstances of his life here mentioned, are gathered from his biographers: they are not recorded in his "Confession," which makes only general allusions to his ministerial labours. This latter treatise was written by him when advanced in life, and after his successful exertions for the spread of the Gospel: it was addressed to the people of Ireland, and was designed to record the goodness of Almighty God toward himself and those among whom he had laboured, and also it give a true account of the motives which influenced him in his toils, and supported him in his many trials and dangers. He would have written this work sooner, he says, but

for his ignorance of composition, caused by troubles and captivity among foreigners in his youth. "I thought of writing this long since," he says, "but have hesitated to this present time; for I was in dread lest I should incur censure from men, because I have not had the same opportunities of reading with others, who have had the best instructions in sacred literature, and have never had to interrupt their studies, but have been always advancing further toward perfection: for my language and expressions have had to give place to a foreign language." And indeed as Tillemont observes, "it must be admitted that the Latin in his Confession is very bad, so as to make it difficult to catch the sense in many parts, independently of mistakes made by transcribers:" this perhaps is one reason why so interesting a document has never been translated for us.

That the Confession was written in his latter days and after the conversion of Ireland, is evident from different passages in it; thus he says, (in chap. iv,) "Therefore must I boldly proclaim every where the name of God, and even after my death leave the knowledge of it to my brethren and sons

whom I have baptized in the Lord, so many thousands of persons as they are; though I was not worthy or deserving that the Lord should grant such favour as this to his servant; or that he should, after all my troubles of such magnitude, after my captivity, after the many years spent with that people, bestow upon me such abundant grace, as in bygone days of youth I never did expect nor think of." And in another place he says that, "the Irish who had never before had knowledge of God among them, and who worshipped nothing but unclean idols up to that time, had become of late the Lord's people and God's children."

The writer called by some Nennius, who wrote in A.D. 858, tells us that St. Patrick founded here three hundred and sixty-five churches, and ordained three hundred and sixty-five bishops, and three thousand presbyters; and that in Connaught alone he converted twelve thousand persons to the faith of Christ. This is probably one of those exaggerated representations of real facts, which have led some people to doubt whether any such person as the saint ever existed. It does however appear, that before the alterations which were made in the

state of the Irish Church in the twelfth century, by the party attached to the interests of the Roman bishop, who then first began to have much power in the country, or to exercise settled and admitted authority among us,—it does appear that there was before that period a far larger number of bishoprics than there is at present in Ireland; so many, perhaps, as some hundreds. But we shall have occasion to allude to this circumstance again, in connexion with other features of our Church History, and so it need not be dwelt upon here.

We may wind up our account of St. Patrick's life with the following extract from his Confession, which forms the closing sentence of that work, and may be looked on as a brief summary of the entire:—"I protest in truth," he says, "and can rejoice in the thought before God and his holy angels, that I never had any motive, save the Gospel and its promises, for ever returning to that people from among whom I had escaped. And I beg of all that believe in God and seek and fear Him, whoever of them may be pleased to examine or read this letter, which I Patrick, poor sinful and ignorant creature as I am, have written in Ireland, that

no one will ever say that my ignorance is to have the credit of it, if I have effected or proved any little matter according to the purpose of God ; but believe and be assured for certain that it was God who has done it. And this is my confession before I shall die.”

Such was the spirit by which this eminent missionary was characterised, such the motives which influenced him. A lively looking forward by faith to the hope of heavenly blessedness revealed in the promises of the Gospel, and an earnest humble desire to render to Almighty God all the glory of that great work of the conversion of Ireland, of which he had been made the honoured instrument.

§ 6.—ST. PATRICK’S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

But it will not do for us to bid farewell to St. Patrick until we have heard a little about the doctrines which he taught the people : a little it must be, for we have already remained with him so long as makes it needful for us to hasten on rapidly to other matters. With regard to this subject, it will

be sufficient for us to consider briefly what is most interesting in connexion with it; that is, what our apostle, as he is called, taught in reference to those subjects which are immediately connected with the peculiar tenets of the modern Church of Rome. Now the writings of St. Patrick which have come down to us, and are acknowledged genuine, are not many; the principal of them are, his "Confession," already noticed; a letter of his to Coroticus, a Pagan king, or rather to his Christian subjects, relating to the cruel and persecuting conduct of this tyrant towards them; and canons supposed to have been agreed to at a synod held by him in Ireland, in conjunction with two other eminent men, Auxilius and Isserninus. These works, and the one or two others of less note which are commonly attributed to him, are as remote as possible from any controversial subjects, and therefore they contain less information than we might desire, suited to our present inquiry: but as far as they do incidentally supply us with any light or evidence bearing on the question, their testimony is quite satisfactory for those who argue for the purity of the doctrines of the ancient Church, against the corrup-

tions introduced by the Romish party. We must not indeed expect to find St. Patrick preaching against those modern Romish errors which were not heard of in his time; it is enough that we hear him stating the truth, and sometimes unintentionally and incidentally, as it were, stating it in such a way as to leave no room for the admission of those later inventions; more than this it would be unreasonable to look for in his writings.

Now in the works which are ascribed to him as above mentioned, the first point of importance worthy to be noted is, that the Holy Scriptures are in them constantly alleged as the ground and foundation of Christian doctrine. The written Word alone is used by the Apostle of Ireland, as his authority for establishing or confirming all his statements; and there is no reference made to the voice of tradition or of the Church, even as far as they might lawfully be used, in proof of any of his assertions; while the passages of the Bible referred to are exceedingly numerous, as in the striking instance quoted already from his Confession, in reference to missionary exertions. (Page 25.)

And Joceline, the Romish writer of St. Patrick's life, already mentioned, says that he used to read

the Bible to the people, and expound it to them for days and nights together. And in a work ascribed to the Saint (*de abusioibus sæculi*) the virtuous female is spoken of as refreshing her soul with constant meditations on the Scriptures, and discourses about their contents.

As for the Romish doctrine of merits, there is nothing to be found in St. Patrick's writings to countenance or support it, or indeed to show that such a doctrine was known to him. His works, on the contrary, breathe the most humble spirit of distrust in any worthiness of man, or claims on his part to divine favour. The free grace of God alone is alleged as sufficient for man's salvation; and to Him alone is attributed all the good that is wrought in us. The following passages are sufficient illustrations of this statement:—"I was as a stone which lies in the deep mire, and He who is mighty came and in His mercy raised me out of it: He hath exalted me and placed me on the top of the wall."—"What shall I say or what shall I promise to the Lord? For I possess no strength but what He hath given me;" and, "from God have I received to be what I am."

St. Patrick had no idea that it was necessary for

all clergymen to be unmarried ; why should he, when his own father and grandfather were men in holy orders ? One of the canons of his synod is clear enough as to this point, in which a penalty is enacted against the *wife* of any clergyman, from the highest to the lowest order of the ministry, who should venture out of doors without having her head veiled. Had these cases been contrary to any general law of the Church then existing, which forbade clergymen to marry, we can hardly suppose but that some notice would have been taken of the circumstance.

There is no trace of the invocation of saints in St. Patrick's writings, unless we adopt the Romish interpretation of an obscure passage in his Confession ; in which place, whatever be its meaning, the writer expressly attributes to Christ his Redeemer, the aid which he felt suddenly imparted to him.*

* It was on his return from his first captivity in Ireland the circumstance here alluded to occurred. As he lay asleep at night, Satan, he says, attacked him sorely, appearing to fall on him like a stone of great weight, so as to render him quite powerless : just then, he tells us, " I know not how it was suggested to me to call on Helias : and at this moment I saw the sun rise in the heaven, and as I was calling Helias, Helias, with all my might, lo the splendour of the sun fell on me, and immediately

As for purgatory, not only is there no mention of it in St. Patrick's writings, but the possibility of its existence is altogether excluded in a work ascribed to him and enumerated among his writings by several ancient authors, and given with his other works in a volume of them published not long since, by a learned Romanist, Signor Villanueva. The tract alluded to is entitled "The Three Habitations," or abodes of spirits: these three abodes are enumerated to be, heaven, earth, and hell; and there is not the least mention of purgatory, nor any allusion to it. Dr. Lanigan, the

removed all my heaviness. And I believe that *I was assisted by Christ my Lord*, and that His spirit was at that very time crying out in my behalf." (Confession, chap. ii.) This passage is so very obscure that it is difficult to ascertain the writer's meaning. Mr. Mason, in his "Religion of the ancient Irish Saints," expresses it as his opinion, that by "*Helias*" the Lord himself is intended, and that they who look on it as an instance of adoration offered to saints, "make the same mistake concerning St. Patrick's exclamation or appeal, that the Jews did of our Lord's upon the cross—'*Behold he calleth Elias.*'" It was about the time of St. Patrick, or in the age immediately preceding, that the first germs of the abuse we are speaking of appeared. But the most eminent fathers of the Church condemned the error. St. Augustine saith of Christ,—"*He is the priest who being now entered within the veil, ALONE there of them that have been partakers of flesh, doth make intercession for us.*" And Epiphanius saith,—"*Neither Elias, nor John, nor Thecla, nor any of the saints, is to be adored.*" (Ussher's Answer to a Jesuit, chap ix.) Augustine and Epiphanius both lived a little before St. Patrick's time.

Roman Catholic Church historian, attempts to account for this by saying, that St. Patrick had no occasion to mention purgatory in this tract, as it is only on *permanent* habitations; but this frivolous remark is easily answered by reminding him, that in that case the present world, as well as purgatory, would have been omitted. Mr. Brennan, another of our Romish historians, suggests that in the tract we are speaking of, purgatory may perhaps be included under "heaven;" the souls there being in a state of happiness. This is, to say the least of it, an unusually pleasant notion of purgatory, and one that, if generally received, might save some money to many of our poor countrymen, and dissipate too some of their purgatorial societies: it will hardly, however, strike our Roman Catholic friends as a very satisfactory way of meeting the troublesome silence of the tract in question.

And as St. Patrick was quite ignorant of such a place as purgatory, so neither did he know any thing of the prayers for the dead connected with it in the Romish system. Nevertheless, some there are who would collect that he was a favourer of both, from the words of the following canon of the

second council supposed to have been held by him in Ireland. "Of oblation for the dead."—"Hear the apostle saying, 'there is a sin unto death, I do not say that any shall pray for it;' and our Lord saith, 'Give not that which is holy unto dogs;' for he who in his lifetime will not deserve to receive the sacrifice, how can it help him after his death." Now to understand and explain this canon, it will be necessary to observe that it was usual in the early Church to make offerings of praise and thanksgiving to God annually for those who had suffered martyrdom, and who, having been faithful unto death, were believed to have inherited a crown of life. The day of their death was called their birth-day, as being the day of their entrance on a new life of everlasting happiness. Thus Tertullian (who wrote about A.D. 200) says, "Once a year we make offerings for the deceased, for their birth-days;" and Eusebius (A.D. 325) mentions the celebration with joy and gladness of Polycarp's birth-day of martyrdom. St. Polycarp suffered in the first century.

But further, it has been the opinion of many pious and learned persons in all ages of the Church, that the dead who have died in the Lord, and who

rest in peace from their labours, have not yet attained (see Rev. vi. ix., &c.) to the degree of glory of which they shall be made partakers in the resurrection, when their souls and bodies shall be united in immortality. And consequently, it has been thought that when the Church prays for the accomplishment of the number of the elect, and the hastening of God's kingdom of glory, the souls of the faithful that are even now in joy and felicity with God, are interested in her petitions. In such a sense did the early Church pray for the dead; but her practice, whatever view be taken of it, had nothing to do with purgatory, or with the idea that sins may be forgiven or purged away after death. That the sacrifice for the dead, and the benefits to be derived from it by them, alluded to in St. Patrick's canon, have no other meaning than what is consistent with these remarks, and so can afford no countenance to the Romish prayers for the dead in purgatory, has been proved by many passages out of ancient writers, alleged by Archbishop Ussher and others; to whom I must refer such of my readers as are anxious for more information on this point, seeing that my limits will not allow me to enlarge on it any further.

There is no passage in St. Patrick's writings, from which we can collect that he looked on the bishop of Rome as the supreme head of the whole Christian Church. A canon of very uncertain authority, which is ascribed to him, does indeed enjoin, that if any doubtful ecclesiastical case could not be decided by the archbishop of the Irish, it should be referred to the "Chair of the apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome." Dr. Lanigan suspects, on very good grounds, that this canon is not genuine. But even if it were, it contains nothing which may not be readily admitted, namely, that if any cause were found difficult to decide at home, the foreign church to which recourse would be most naturally had for advice, was that established in the largest and most important Christian city, which from its position and circumstances at that period, and the constant intercourse then existing between it and all parts of the world, was most calculated to become naturally, a centre of unity, and a place to which all Christians every where might well look for counsel and direction, the result of experience not to be had elsewhere. But we have no evidence that St. Patrick, when he placed so much confidence in the

Church of Rome in his day, (supposing him to have done so,) for soundness of judgment and purity of doctrine, had any idea that she would always *infallibly* and by the promise of Christ, retain the same unspotted and exalted character. The obstinate contentions which prevailed so very soon after this, between our countrymen and the Church of Rome, are in themselves sufficient to shew, how little the first Christian teachers of the Irish troubled themselves about inculcating such a doctrine as that of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

The principal writings of St. Patrick above mentioned, are considered his genuine works by all Roman Catholics, and by the most learned Protestant writers, Archbishop Ussher, Sir H. Spelman, &c.; and indeed their purity of doctrine and freedom from the multiplicity of miraculous and absurd legends, in which later writers have so much indulged, is a strong evidence of their genuineness. Had they been forgeries of after times, invented by Romanists, we should no doubt have found them as full as other documents of the like character, of arguments of every sort in support of the pretensions of the bishop of Rome.

§ 7.—AGE NEXT AFTER ST. PATRICK'S—LIFE
AND ACTS OF ST. COLUMBA.

In the age immediately following that in which St. Patrick lived, Ireland was adorned by many illustrious persons born in her, and noted for learning and zeal in promoting the knowledge of the Christian faith. But of all the Irish saints who flourished in these early times, none shone forth with so bright a lustre as the famous St. Columba, the apostle of the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, and the founder and first abbot of the celebrated monastery of Iona. The more common name of Columbkil, (or Columb of the Churches,) by which he is usually distinguished, has been given him in consequence of the great number of churches and monasteries which he founded.

This holy man was descended from the royal family of Ireland, and was also nearly allied to the Kings of Scotland. He was born A.D. 522, at a place called Gartin, near the town of Letterkenny, in Donegal, where his name is to this day held in the greatest veneration, so that in that part of Ireland the fame of St. Patrick is greatly eclipsed by his. In very early youth he showed evident signs of

that piety for which he was afterwards so distinguished ; and his parents lost no time in providing him with such an education as tended to qualify him for the sacred office of the ministry, for which he seemed in the providence of God to be designed. They first placed him under the care of Cruinechan, a devout presbyter ; then under St. Finian, bishop of Clonard, * who had established on the banks of the Boyne a celebrated seminary, which was thronged at that time by the youth of Ireland. He subsequently enjoyed the instructions of Fenbar, another eminent teacher of that age, and lastly of another named Germanus. These persons were so struck with the holiness of character which they discovered in him, that even while he was their youthful pupil, Finian and German were accustomed to distinguish him by the appellation of Saint.

And a saint indeed we too must pronounce him, if we but examine the evidences of his saintly character and conversation, life and death, which are upon record. Before entering on these subjects

* According to some authorities, it was not with this St. Finian, but another of the same name at Moville, that Columba studied.

however, it will be well to inform our readers what accounts of him we are furnished with, and what documents we can refer to for the particulars of his life and history.

And first, two of his successors, Cumin and Adamnan, composed memoirs of him at a very early period; the former wrote about sixty, and the latter about eighty-three years after the Saint's death. They had both therefore very good opportunities of coming at the knowledge of every thing that concerned him. But unhappily these good men, instead of describing simply the real circumstances of his life, have occupied their time in giving us a marvellous detail of visions, prophecies, and miracles, which they boldly ascribe to him. It is but candid to suppose that they themselves believed what they wrote, but their wonders are more adapted to gratify the credulous imagination of the superstitious, than to satisfy the desires of the thinking piety which in history as well as in doctrine, looks for "words of truth and soberness."

Besides the two lives of St. Columba here mentioned, many others were afterwards published, of which the greater part have been since lost. Col-

gan, who published the seven lives of St. Patrick already noticed, has also in the same work given five of these of Columba; of which the two above mentioned, are the most important. That of Adamnanus is indeed the most important of all, and it is prized by Roman Catholics especially, as being one of the most perfect specimens of that sort of biography which so early an age, or indeed all the middle ages can boast of.

But in Venerable Bede, the illustrious historian of the early English Church, who wrote in A.D. 731, we have perhaps the most valuable record of St. Columba's life. It is indeed a brief memorial of him, but yet a comprehensive one; and though contained in a single chapter of Bede's work, it comprises a clear and satisfactory account of most of the principal circumstances connected with the Saint's history.

Columba appears to have been admitted to holy orders at a very early age, about A.D. 534. His first exertions in the cause of religion were directed to his native land, where he established several monastic institutions, for the management of which he framed such admirable rules of discipline, that

in a short time they attained to a very high character on account of the learning and sanctity cultivated in them. The most distinguished of them was one founded, as Bede mentions, in a place "which from the number of oaks growing there is called in the Irish language Dearthach, that is Oakfield:" but whether by this name Derry be intended, as some authors inform us, or Durrow in the King's County, as others are of opinion, I shall not take upon me to decide.

Ireland however had now for a considerable time enjoyed the light of the Gospel, and abounded in saints and learned men; while the isles and northern parts of Scotland were still covered with darkness, and in the shackles of superstition. On these benighted regions, therefore, Columba looked with a pitying eye, and resolved, however forbidding the prospect, to undertake the mission to the Highlands. Accordingly in the year of Redemption 565, as Bede tells us, he came "to preach the word of God" in those provinces. He is said to have brought with him twelve companions to assist him in his arduous undertaking. His zeal had indeed many combined disadvantages to contend

with, but his labours were notwithstanding attended with wonderful success, so that in the course of a few years, "by the power of his word and example," the greater part of the Pictish or Highland kingdom was brought to the knowledge of the Gospel, and the superstitions of Druidism were dissipated by the holy influence of Christian light and truth.

In the latter part of his life Columba fixed his residence in the island of Iona, one of the smallest of the Western Isles of Scotland. Its original name was I, Hy, or Aoi (as written in the ancient Irish annals,) a word signifying an island, which was Latinized into Iona or Hyona: it is now commonly called, in memory of the Saint, I-colum-kill, (i.e. the Isle of Colum of the Churches,) and is included in one of the parishes of the large adjoining island of Mull. Here Columba founded a monastery that afterwards became conspicuously illustrious for the eminent men whom it sent forth into the world to serve in the cause of religion, some of whom were the means of rescuing a large part of England from Paganism under the Saxon princes. It appears that Iona was given to Colum-

kill by a relative of his who was at that time king of the Dalriadies in Scotland, ruling over Argyle, Kintyre, &c., and most of the Western Isles. This prince, anxious that the Saint should settle in his dominions, offered him any part of them which he might choose to occupy ; but the small and retired island of Iona was sufficient to gratify his moderate desires. Bede indeed says that Iona belonged to the Picts, and that it was they who after their conversion gave it to Columba ; but the account above given appears more likely to be the true one.

In A.D. 574, Columba returned to his native land to be present at the great council of Drumkeath, in Ulster, held there by Aodh, or Hugh, monarch of Ireland ; at which the representatives of the different states of the country assembled, for the purpose of settling certain weighty questions, connected with public affairs, which then demanded their attention. The most important subject of debate on this occasion was, a contest between the monarch Hugh, and Aidan king of the Scots, whose residence was in Kintyre, relative to the right of succession to the Dalriadic province in Ulster. In this contest Columba mediated so successfully

between the two princes, that they both agreed to leave the matter to his arbitration. He however wisely declined taking upon himself such an office, and the affair was referred to Colman, a man excellently well versed in legal and ecclesiastical learning, by whose assistance a satisfactory arrangement took place.

There were other matters of great importance transacted in the convention at Drumkeath, in which Columba took an equally prominent part, and manifested not less the great influence which he possessed with all classes of men, than the good purpose to which he was enabled by God's grace to employ it. But of these other matters I cannot stay now to speak particularly.

After the assembly had dissolved, he next proceeded on a tour through Ireland, visiting the monasteries which he himself had founded, and others also, and after an absence of about two years returned once more to his beloved retirement at Iona; there he spent his latter days in peace, enjoying the society of his beloved companions, and still doing good service to the Church, by superintending its affairs in the country of the

Picts, and to a considerable extent among the Scots and Irish also ; by training up men of promise to become afterwards efficient labourers in the Lord's vineyard ; and by watching over the interests of the rising community under his care, and thus helping to bring forward to maturity so noble a seminary of religion and learning.

Columba's extensive labours, and their widespread influence in the Church, are abundantly borne witness to by the various writers who have had occasion to make mention of him. Bede, for instance, tells us that from the two monasteries of Dearnach and Iona great numbers of others were planted by his followers throughout Britain and Ireland. Joceline, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, calls him the founder of a hundred monasteries. A later author of Columba's own life, says that above three hundred churches and monasteries had been established by him ; and the valuable ancient record called the "*Annals of Ulster*," describe him as being "next after St. Patrick the principal promoter of religion throughout the greater part of Ireland and Scotland." *

* See Smith's *Life of St. Columba*, a very useful work, from which I have borrowed much in this and the following section.

§ 8.—CHARACTER OF ST. COLUMBA AND HIS
SUCCESSORS.

Having thus far considered the principal transactions of Columba's life, from infancy to old age, it will be desirable for us here to rest a little and contemplate the character of this eminent saint, whom God was pleased to make use of for so signal an instrument of his own glory. We shall thus have an opportunity of noticing many interesting particulars connected with him, which could not have been introduced before, without interrupting too much the order of the narrative; and we shall be able to discern in the memoirs of him which have been handed down to us, abundant evidences of the many graces which combined to fit him for his great undertakings. Had we indeed time to give this subject the attention it merits, we should surely arrive at this conclusion, that Columba was the most exalted saint to whom our native land ever gave birth; and that there is not to be met with in the annals of our Irish Church another instance of one so eminently holy and heavenly-minded in his disposition; so devout and prayerful, and at the same time so constantly engaged in the

affairs of active life ; so bold, and at the same time so successful in his undertakings ; so laborious and diligent in his employments ; so influential with men of noble rank, and so gentle, affectionate and condescending to those of low degree ; so mortified and self-denying in his habits ; so dead to earthly affections, and so full of spiritual life and devotedness to the service of his heavenly Master.

We need not so much wonder that the blossoms of all spiritual graces budded forth in Columba with such vigour, when we observe how constantly *prayer*, the nurse of them all, was his employment and delight. He indeed, if any one, might be truly said to pray without ceasing, and the spirit of prayer seemed to be the spirit of his life : every circumstance, every friend, every hour, gave him occasion thus to rise in spirit to his God ; and he would engage in no business, undertake no work, without having first invoked His aid. Whether he went abroad, or travelled by sea or land himself, or knew of any of his friends being thus engaged in their journeying ; or received ordinary mercies at home ; or administered to others medicine, or counsel and advice ; or was about to perform any

office of his ministry ; prayer was with him the accompaniment of all. The daily supply of milk as it passed his door, and the annual store of corn that lay in the granary to form a provision for the coming year, were alike the subjects of a blessing : thus his food and all the creatures of God were sanctified to him by the use of prayer and thanksgiving.

He also exhibited in his life the greatest *mortification and self-denial*, sometimes fasting for whole days, and watching for whole nights ; and at the advanced age of seventy-seven we read of his using the bare flag for his bed, and like the patriarch Jacob, a stone for his pillow. We must not however judge of such austerities by the state of things in our own day, nor suppose it extravagant conduct in a monk to act thus, at a time when the luxuries of the rich could afford perhaps but a little straw. Columba's life was indeed mortified, but not irrational : it had nothing in it of superstitious penance or unmeaning hardships.

His *diligence and industry* were such that he would be always engaged in doing something ; so that, as Adamnanus tells us, " he could never

allow the space of a single hour to pass in which he did not apply himself to prayer, or reading, or writing, or else some work." Sometimes he heard his disciples read; sometimes he read himself; sometimes he would copy out books, and sometimes read over what others had copied. We are to remember that in St. Columba's day there was no such thing as printing known, and the largest books in use were all written from one end to the other with a pen; nor could one have a Bible nor any other book, excepting what were so provided. This work of copying books was much attended to by the ancient monks, and many specimens still exist of the care and elegance with which they performed it. By such means the sacred oracles of the Word of God, as well as other valuable ancient records, were preserved to us for the first fourteen centuries after the birth of Christ, printing not having been invented till about A.D. 1450. In Columba's history mention is made of various books written or copied by him, and as he wished to continue his usefulness in this way to the last, we find him engaged in transcribing a part of the Psalter on the very day which he knew was to close his

life on earth.* Nor did he write the Bible only, without making it his study also. Adamnanus says indeed that he has “for three days and as many nights together, without either eating or drinking, engaged himself in studying all the obscure and most difficult passages of Holy Scripture.” Whether this statement be literally true we may be inclined to doubt; there are however on record other instances in that age of such long fasting, as an accompaniment of prayer on peculiarly solemn occasions.

His *popularity and influence* were such that he was held in the highest esteem and reverence, not only by the king of the Picts, but by many neighbouring princes who valued his acquaintance, and assisted him liberally in his expensive undertakings. Wherever he visited abroad, he was received with every demonstration of respect and joy; crowds attended him on the road, and to the place where he lodged at night the neighbourhood sent stores of provisions to entertain him. And when he was

* There is in the library of Trinity College a manuscript copy of the four Gospels which is supposed to be in his handwriting. It is said to have been completed in the space of twelve days.

able to remain at home, he was resorted to by multitudes of all classes, for aid and advice, as a physician both of soul and body.

But through the grace given to him, Columba although so highly exalted, was neither puffed up with pride, nor drawn away by worldly attractions from those better objects which chiefly occupied his thoughts. His conversation still savoured of heaven and heavenly things, and its constant tendency was to edify and profit as the case might require, or occasion offer; while his affability and aptness to teach were such, that he was never at a loss to make every time and place and person suit his purpose. The old and young were alike the objects of his affectionate solicitude, and if he met but a child he would inquire whose he was, and give him his benediction.

But it was by establishing the famous seminary of learning at Iona that Columba rendered the most lasting service to his country.³ He thus kindled a light which shone in a dark place for many ages, and like some small but brilliant star sent forth its cheering rays to enliven distant lands. Without such a provision all his personal labours

might have produced but a comparatively small and temporary effect. But from his extreme care in selecting, and diligence in instructing those whom he admitted among his followers, he was enabled to provide for his institution such a supply of excellent and able men, that the place long maintained its high character. Bede, in allusion to this subject, says—"Whatever kind of person he himself was, this we know of him for certain that he left successors distinguished for their great chastity, divine love, and strict attention to their rules of discipline; following indeed uncertain cycles in their computation of the time of the great festival,* (because far away as they were out of the world no one had supplied them with the synodal decrees relating to the Paschal observance,) yet withal diligently observing such works of piety and chastity as they could find in the Prophetic, Evangelic, and Apostolic writings."

Iona continued for several ages to be the chief monastery of all those which belonged to the followers of Columba in Scotland and Ireland. The first check to its celebrity was the invasion of the

* Easter.

Norwegians and Danes at the close of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century. By them it was repeatedly pillaged and burned, and its monks and abbots massacred; until at length it came along with the rest of the Western Isles to be under their settled dominion. As these barbarians held learning in no estimation, the college of Iona though it continued to exist, began to decline, and had its connexion with Britain and Ireland in a great measure cut off. The venerable ruins in the island still command respect, but until of late they were much exposed to injury. About fifty years ago the Duke of Argyle, the proprietor of the island, had them enclosed with a sufficient wall; but previously to that the cathedral was sometimes used as a pen for cattle.

Many writers are of opinion that the successors of Columba in after ages were the same with the celebrated religious order of men called Culdees, who flourished in Ireland and Scotland in the middle ages; but there seems to be no sufficient historical testimony to prove this. The name of Culdee is not used by Adamannus, nor Bede, nor it would appear by any writer before the tenth century.

This order continued to exist until the time of Archbishop Ussher in the seventeenth century ; but it was then nearly extinct, and became soon after entirely so.

§ 9.—ST. COLUMBA'S LATTER END.

The death of St. Columba was as edifying to those who witnessed it as his life had been ; and he departed from the world in the same “ hope full of immortality ” that he had ever manifested in his progress through it. The circumstances connected with the closing scene of his life, as recorded by his principal biographer, are of such an interesting nature, that I am sure none of my readers will be disposed to find fault with me for introducing here an account of the last day he spent on earth, in Adamnanus's own words, as nearly as possible, only omitting some things less worthy of being mentioned here, visions, &c., which that author notices, and abridging some of the less striking parts of his narrative.

Adamnanus, abbot of Iona, (who is by some called also Adamannus or Adomnanus,) flourished in A.D. 690; and his Life of St. Columba is one of the most curious records that remain of our ancient saints. Whatever credulity or indiscretion may appear throughout his work, the piety and beauty of some parts will be admitted by all; of which the passages here introduced will afford sufficient specimens.

Columba's last week on earth is fast hastening to its close: "on the last day therefore," we are told, "of this same week, that is, on the Sabbath day,* the venerable man himself, and his pious attendant Dermot, proceed to the adjoining granary to bless it;" (Adamn. iii. 28.) and when this act of piety had been performed, after uttering a thanksgiving for the two heaps of corn which he found there, the Saint congratulated his brethren on having in them a sufficient store of food for the coming year in case of his removal from among them. And then dwelling much in his thoughts

* It is to be observed that the Sabbath day is here used in its Scriptural sense to signify *Saturday*. In the times of Columba and Adamnanus, it had not yet been applied commonly by any persons, to designate "the Lord's day," or "first day of the week."

on his nearly approaching end, and unwilling to conceal from his faithful Dermot what he saw in prospect before him, he promised to disclose to him more particular information about it, on condition of his keeping it a profound secret; “and when in compliance with the Saint’s wish, his attendant had on bended knees given utterance to a promise to this effect, the venerable man thus proceeds:— ‘This day is in the sacred volume called the Sabbath, which is interpreted *rest*; and to-day is verily a Sabbath for me; because it is the last with me of this present toilsome life, upon which after all my toils and sorrows I come to enjoy my Sabbath: and at the approaching hour of midnight, as the hallowed day of the Lord begins, I shall, as the Scripture saith, be going the way of my fathers. For now my Lord Jesus Christ vouchsafes to invite me to himself, and when this midnight as I say comes, I shall go at His own bidding to be with Him.’ Upon hearing these sad words, his attendant began to weep bitterly, while the Saint endeavoured to the best of his power to comfort him.” (ib.)

Presently after, “ascending the hill which overhung the monastery, he stood at the top of it a

little while; and as he stood there, with uplifted hands pronounced a blessing on his community," in terms expressive of the future greatness which he foresaw it would attain to. After which "descending from that eminence and returning to the monastery, he remained sitting in his chamber writing the Psalter; and coming to that verse in the thirty-third Psalm* where it is written, *but they that seek the Lord shall not want any manner of thing that is good*, 'here,' said he, 'at the close of the page, I must come to a stop; what comes after let Baithen write.'"

We must here note that this Baithen was the cousin, favourite disciple, and immediate successor of Columba as abbot of Iona; and that he also was much renowned for his wisdom, learning, and sanctity. But to proceed with our narrative.

Adamnanus next goes on to remark that "the last verse which he had written was well suited to this departing saint, who shall never want for good things throughout eternity. And the verse that follows, *Come ye children and hearken unto me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord*, was

* The thirty-fourth in our Bibles, according to the Hebrew.

equally well suited to his successor, father as he was and instructor of spiritual children; who according to the charge of his dying friend, succeeded him not only in the teaching, but in the writing too.

“After having written to the end of the above mentioned verse, which terminated that page, the Saint goes to church to be present at vesper service of the Lord’s-day eve; at the close of which, returning to his humble abode, he rests for part of the night on his couch, where he had the bare flag for straw, and for his pillow a stone, which to the present day stands near his grave as a sort of monumental inscription for it.” (Adamn. iii. 29.)

“Afterwards when his happy end approached, the Saint enjoyed repose for a short time previously: then as the midnight bell was heard to ring, rising up hastily he goes to the church, and running before the rest and coming in alone, he sinks on bended knees in prayer.” Dermot presently comes in before the brethren had assembled with their lights, and feeling in the dark for his master, discovers him sunk in a dying state: he raises him, and sitting beside him, places his head with reverent

affection to rest on his own bosom. The others had now arrived ; the dying man unable any longer to speak, raised, with Dermot's aid, his feeble right hand to bless his monks, "so that he might appear even with a motion of his hand to convey to his brethren that benediction which he was unable to express orally from his breath failing him. And after having thus imparted to them his solemn blessing, he immediately breathed forth his spirit." The cold hand of death could not however destroy the constant serenity of his countenance, but the cheerful placid expression that remained after life had fled, seemed rather like the repose of sleep than the torpor of death. Peace was now his portion, sorrow that of the survivors, and "the whole church echoed with their sad wailing." (ib. 31.)

"Meanwhile after the departure of his sacred spirit, morning hymns having ended, the revered remains are removed from the church, accompanied by the brethren's sweet psalmody, to the abode from which a little before he had come out alive. And for three days and as many nights the becoming ceremonies suitable to the occasion are duly performed with all propriety: which having ended

in the praise of the God of wisdom, the venerated remains of our holy and happy patron, wrapped in fair linen and placed in a convenient receptacle, are interred with all due solemnity, to rise in bright and everlasting glory." (ib. 32.)

"This then," continues Adamnanus, (ib. 33.) "was the close of our illustrious patron's life, this his entrance on his recompense ; who now, according to the sentences of the Scriptures, admitted as a companion to former saints in their eternal triumphs, joined with apostles and prophets, numbered with the company of the thousands arrayed in white, of the saints who have washed their robes in the Lamb's blood, follows the Lamb for his leader, a spotless virgin free from every stain, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, who with the Father hath all honour, power, praise, and glory and dominion, for ever, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen."

Such was Columba's end ; such the recital of it given by his distinguished successor. My Roman Catholic readers will look in vain for various particulars which they may naturally think too important to be omitted in recording the dying scene of

a priest of the Church departing in the Catholic faith, but on which nevertheless, Adamnanus is utterly silent. No anointing occupies the thoughts of the dying Saint: no purgatory is conceived to open for him its dismal doors; no torments after death are thought necessary to remove the stain or guilt of his forgiven sins: no prayers are lost in the idle effort to raise him to that holy heaven where he would have been before them; but when, absent from the body, he had gone to be present with the Lord, the temporary sorrow which nature exacted from those who remained on earth, soon gave way to the chastened joy of "sweet psalmody" and thanksgiving, on behalf of the bright jewel rescued from all the defilements of earth, and set for ever in the Redeemer's diadem.

Columba's death took place on the 9th of June, (A.D. 597,) in consequence of which that day is marked as his festival in the calendar of the Irish saints: for a similar reason the 17th of March is chosen for the commemoration of St. Patrick, as it is believed that it was on that day he entered into his rest. The bones of Columba were afterwards re-

moved to Down in Ulster, and buried in one grave with those of St. Patrick and St. Bridget.

§ 10.—STATE OF THE EARLY CHURCH IN ENGLAND TO THE SAXON CONQUEST.

It will be useful to us here briefly to consider the state of the Church in Great Britain at this time ; a knowledge of its circumstances will help us to a clearer understanding of the condition of the Irish Church at the same period ; and seeing the connexion between the two, we shall be the better enabled to comprehend fully the meaning of the remarks relating to both, which I shall have occasion to adduce from the writings of ancient authors.

It seems almost certain, as I have already said, that the Gospel was preached in England before the end of the first century. Many indeed suppose this event to have taken place in A.D. 37, or even before that, in consequence of a statement of Gildas, the most ancient writer who has spoken of the early state of the English Church. Cardinal Baro-

nus, in particular, is of this mind, and in his famous Ecclesiastical “Annals” he fixes on A.D. 35 for the year when Christianity was introduced into Great Britain. The opinion however seems erroneous; it is, as our most learned authors* have shown, founded on a mistaken interpretation of the words of Gildas, and it is further at variance with the testimony of Holy Writ; for we learn from the Acts of the Apostles that Cornelius the centurion was the first Gentile to whom the Gospel was preached, about A.D. 40; and that previously to that time the Apostles did not even think it lawful to preach to any but to the Jews only.

There is however every reason to believe that the truths of salvation were made known in England in the apostolic age; although by whom first, it is not so easy to say. Different authors have indeed mentioned St. Peter, St. James, (the son of Zebedee,) St. Simon Zelotes, St. Aristobulus, and St. Joseph of Arimathea. But while the assertion is clearly false with regard to some of these, it has little to support it with regard to any of them. The bare assertion of an author coming some cen-

* Bishop Stillingfleet (Antiq.) and after him Collier, &c.

tures after, being no satisfactory evidence in this matter, and as Fuller says, in his *Church History of Britain*, “how easy it is for a writer, with one word of his pen, to send an apostle many miles by land and leagues by sea, into a country wherein otherwise he had no footing.” In behalf of the claims of Joseph of Arimathea, much has been said; but after all, the foundation on which they rest appears not much more satisfactory than what the others have to depend on. The tradition about St. Joseph is that he sailed from Judea to Marseilles in France, then crossed over by land to England to preach the Gospel; and that he founded in A.D. 64, the church of Glastonbury, which would according to this account be the most ancient in the world. But the best judges are inclined to believe that St. Paul is more likely than any of those yet mentioned, to have been the apostle of Britain. Many circumstances concur to make this appear by no means improbable: for these particulars however I must refer my readers to those authors who have treated more at large of this subject.

The most important circumstance connected

with the history of religion in England in the *second* century is the conversion of Lucius, a British king. They who have written the history of this century, however agreeing as to the fact, are very much divided as to the time when it took place, assigning various dates, differing by nearly a century. The Venerable Bede gives A.D. 167 as the year; some make it so late as 190. The want of harmony about this point is not so much to be wondered at, when we consider that early authors not following any settled system of chronology, did each one for himself, as well as he could calculate it, mark the time from the birth of our Lord, and thus, although starting from the same place, they seldom meet together in their dating of any memorable incident. Lucius is said to have been converted by the miracles wrought by Christian teachers; and to have sent Elvanus and Medwinus, two persons of known piety and learning in the Scriptures, to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, desiring instruction in the Christian faith. Britain was at this time governed by the Romans, whose armies had conquered the isle; and King Lucius may easily have heard from their generals, in his own country, somewhat of the city which

was then the capital of the world, and of the state of Christianity in it; so that it might as naturally occur to him at that day to send to Rome for Christian teachers, as it would to an Indian prince at this day to apply to England for the like aid. Eleutherius readily complied with his request, and sent two grave divines to gratify his desire, by whom Lucius was soon baptized, and many of his subjects. He afterwards became a great patron of the religion which he had embraced, building, as we are informed, and endowing many churches in various parts of England, among which are enumerated those founded at London, Gloucester, Winchester, &c.

Of Christianity in England in the *third* century we know very little; only that at the commencement of it King Lucius died, and that the religion which he had promoted in his country remained there after him. Gildas, writing A.D. 540, says, "Christ's precepts, though they were but lukewarmly received by the inhabitants, did yet remain with some entirely, less sincerely with others, even until the nine years of persecution under Dioclesian." Origen too, who wrote about A.D. 234,

says, "The power of God our Saviour is even with them who are in Britain shut out from our world." And Tertullian, who flourished also in this century, speaks of "places of the British Isles, inaccessible to the Romans, but which had become subject to the dominion of Christ."

The persecution under the Roman Emperor Dioclesian, which afflicted the Christian Church at the commencement of the *fourth* century, extended even to Britain; and we read of many martyrs there in this age. The most noble in this noble army was Alban, a wealthy inhabitant of Verulam, who is regarded as the British protomartyr—first in point of time, and first in the celebrity of his martyrdom. He was converted by a Christian confessor, who fleeing from persecution elsewhere, came to Verulam, and was sheltered and entertained by Alban at his house there. A search being made for his guest soon after by the Pagan officers, Alban having persuaded him to exchange clothes with himself, thus enabled him to escape, and meanwhile gave up himself in his place to those relentless enemies. St. Alban was soon visited with death, after many varied tortures from

his Heathen persecutors. The person who had been the means of his conversion, (who is by some writers called St. Amphibalus,) was soon after apprehended and visited with a similar fate; and thousands besides, some of whose names are preserved, perished about this time in the same way. Constantius Chlorus succeeding to the dominion in the western parts of the Roman empire, France, Spain, and Britain, brought peace and toleration to the British Christians, in A.D. 305. He is said to have died at York, and was succeeded by Constantine the Great, who established the Christian religion in all the Roman empire.

It appears that during this century many foreign councils were attended by British bishops. That of Arles, in France, for instance, held in A.D. 314, to settle the Donatist controversy; to which went three bishops, a priest, and deacon, whose names are given us, as representatives of the British Church on that occasion. The Council of Nice, A.D. 325, that of Sardis, A.D. 347, and that of Ariminum, A.D. 359, were attended by bishops from Britain. At the latter, especially, several were present.*

* For the authorities, see Collier's Church History, vol. i.

Arianism began to infect the British Church about A.D. 360. It was to some degree suppressed at the commencement of the *fifth* century, when a new error arose and prevailed to a still more lamentable degree. The author of the Pelagian heresy is believed to have been a Briton by birth ; and his education he received in the monastery of Bangor, in Flintshire. The principal of his erroneous doctrines was this—that infants are born into this world such as Adam was before the fall, free from original sin, and capable of being saved without God's grace, by their own merits and free will. Though Pelagius did not himself, as far as we know, preach his errors in Great Britain, yet they were widely circulated there, and adopted by great numbers. In consequence of which the British bishops invited from France, Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troyes, to assist in confuting the heresy and checking its growth. The efforts of these holy men were blessed with much success, and their appeals to Holy Scripture were so forcible and overcoming, that their opponents were altogether obliged to yield to them.

When however Germanus and Lupus had de-

parted, Pelagianism began to spread in Britain afresh ; and therefore having been solicited to return thither again, Germanus came over once more accompanied by Severus ; and succeeded a second time in crushing error, and confirming the professors of the orthodox faith.

But a heavier blow was soon given to British Christianity by the invasion of the Heathen Saxons, whose dominion in England was first established in this century. The Picts and Scots had much harassed the southern parts of the island with their invasions, and had been repulsed about A.D. 380, by the aid of the Romans, under their general Maximus. Maximus however having departed for Italy some years after, these invaders returned : and we read of Germanus, in A.D. 429, after his defeat of the Pelagians, being employed in expelling the Picts, and with them the Saxons, then first beginning to invade Britain, out of that country ; which Germanus is said to have done by causing a multitude of his disciples and converts to lie in wait in ambush near the Pagan army, and on a signal given to shout lustily “ hallelujah ” three times.* The noise of their shouting, re-echoed and

* See 2 Chronicles, xx. 22.

multiplied by the adjoining hills and valleys, is said to have struck such a panic into the enemies, that they fled from the place in confusion and disorder, and were quite discomfited, many of them in their flight perishing in the river Allen in Flintshire, which lay in their way.

The incursions of the Picts however continued after this, and the Britons applied in vain to their masters, the Romans, for aid against the enemy. The Roman empire was indeed at this time in such a state of decline and decay, that it was impossible to preserve its outposts, the parts nearer home giving trouble enough to keep them in order. In this difficulty the British being reduced to desperation, Vortigern their king invited the Pagan Saxons from Germany, to assist him, under their leaders, Hengist and Horsus. They readily came as invited, but it was not long ere they began to set their eyes on the conquest of the country which they were called over to deliver from other enemies; and turning against the Britons the power which they had established among them, these foreigners dispossessed them by degrees of the best parts of their island. In the territory thus acquired, the

Saxons founded seven kingdoms, which together formed what is called the "Heptarchy," that is, the sevenfold government; and as they had not yet received the faith, this wide extent of country became again, under their influence, overspread with the gloom of Paganism. The British Church was driven into the fastnesses of the island, which were less accessible to the Saxon invaders; and Wales especially afforded it a place of shelter. In that country, which then included the part of England now called Cornwall, Christianity still prevailed and kept its ground: but in the eastern part of the isle the profession of the Gospel was almost, if not wholly, obliterated. British Christians were supplanted by Saxon idolaters, and the conversion of the nation which had been begun and carried on with so much attendant success, was for a time checked and thrown back, and heathenism and Satan allowed to rule once more.

§ 11.—THE SAXONS CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY—FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF A BRANCH OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN, A.D. 596.

Thus successful had the Saxons been in destroying the Christian faith in the greater part of England, and no doubt many of the British Christians at this time suffered for their profession of the Gospel. As an instance, we read that Cerdicus, first king of the West Saxons, (Devonshire, Hampshire, &c.,) having overcome the Britons at Winchester, killed all the monks belonging to the church of St. Amphibalus, and turned the same into a temple of idolatry, A.D. 495.

Yet amid all its affliction the British Church, at the beginning of the sixth century and throughout it, gave birth to many men whose names are handed down to us with honourable mention of their learning, piety, and zeal for good works. Bangor, in the north of Wales, and Caerleon, in the south, on the river Usk, were the principal repositories of the Christian religion at this time. The latter is said to have had in it an archbishop's see, and a college of two hundred philosophers. St. David,

who was archbishop in A.D. 519, removed the seat of the archbishoprick to the place in Pembroke-shire, which has since been distinguished by his name.

But the Saxons themselves were soon to be converted to the faith they had done so much to destroy. The circumstances connected with their conversion are well known to every person who has read the smallest English History in use among us. For Gregory, afterwards known as Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, seeing certain Saxon children exposed for sale in the market-place at Rome, was at first struck with their beauty, and then on making inquiries concerning them, was much moved with compassion for the spiritual destitution of the country from which they came. He therefore became desirous to come and preach to the Saxons himself, but was prevented by Pelagius,* who was at that time pope, and by the people of Rome, as they were unwilling to expose a life so precious to so many dangers as would attend this mission. Gregory was soon after made bishop of Rome: and not forgetting in that high station the

* Not the Pelagius mentioned in page 82.

object which had so much interested him, he still manifested a pious zeal for the conversion of the Heathen Saxons in Britain ; but being unable now to go and engage in such a work himself, he persuaded a monk named Augustine, to undertake it, assisted by forty companions. By their means Ethelbert king of Kent, was converted to the Christian faith, A.D. 597, the year after their arrival ; and before the end of the sixth century all Kent was brought to embrace the profession of the Gospel. Augustine received from Gregory an archbishop's pall for his services, and was appointed to the see of Canterbury, then converted into an archbishoprick. He continued his pious labours with much success till about A.D. 611, when he died. Kent, Essex, and other parts of the Saxon dominions had been converted before his death ; and subsequently the remaining parts, Northumberland, East Anglia, the West Saxons, Mercia, and the South Saxons, were one after another brought over to Christianity, which was thus received by the entire Heptarchy, in A.D. 679.

Augustine has been regarded as the apostle of the English ; and the name may be allowed to be

justly his, if we understand by it that he was the first missionary to the *Saxons* who had settled themselves in England, and the chief propagator of the Christian religion among the people of an important portion of the Heptarchy. But we must not in giving him such a title be supposed to imply that he was the first planter of Christianity in England; or to forget that before his time all the world had heard of the British Church, with its bishops stationed in the different provinces of the island. This venerable body was indeed in Augustine's time very much reduced, and by persecution driven into Wales, and confined within the narrow limits of that province; but it still lived there, and even flourished, continuing to be the representative and successor of that original and ancient Church, which had existed in Britain from the apostolic age, or in other words, nearly five hundred years before the missionaries from Pope Gregory set foot in that country.

By the conversion of the Saxons there came to be formed in Britain a new Christian body, quite distinct from that which had previously existed there, and altogether independent of it in its origin.

There was, as Bede expresses it, “a new Church collected out of the *English* people.”* This newly formed body held in the main the same doctrines with those received by the ancient *British* Christians: but there were certain distinctions between the two parties which it is of importance that we should notice here, as they became afterwards the source of much controversy, and of serious discords.

The ancient British Church had no doubt maintained in the earliest times such a friendly intercourse with the Church of Rome as circumstances would permit. This intercourse however would naturally have been much interrupted by the troubles connected with the Saxon invasion, during the wars of which, the British, driven into Wales and shut up there by their enemies, could have little communication with any Christians in other countries excepting Ireland. And therefore when Augustine at an early stage of his labours, had with the assistance of King Ethelbert, persuaded the British bishops to come and hold a conference with him, to consider matters relating to their mutual interests, and the intercourse which was to

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. 4.

exist between them, they were at first at a loss in what light to regard him. After some discussion, however, as to the points on which they disagreed, such as the time of keeping Easter, &c., a real or supposed miracle which Augustine wrought in their presence, had the effect of convincing them that it was the "true way of righteousness" which he taught. Unwilling, however, to give up those customs of their own which he condemned, "without the consent and license of their own people," they agreed to meet him again at a second conference.

✓ Augustine's proposal was, that the British bishops "should live on terms of Catholic peace with him, and that they should undertake together for their Lord, the work of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen," (i.e. to the Saxon tribes in Britain;) and what was very important, he also desired much to induce them to submit to his jurisdiction, and allow him to have authority over them in spiritual matters, according to the letters of advice for the regulation of his missionary labours, which he had received from Rome. In one of these letters we find Pope Gregory describing to him the model by which he

was to arrange the framework of ecclesiastical authority in the Church of England: the bishops of London and York are first assigned their respective places and privileges; and then Augustine is informed that he himself, as archbishop of Canterbury, is to "have subject to him"* not only all the bishops whom he and the bishop of York might ordain, but also the British bishops. "We commit to thee, brother," said Gregory to him in another letter, "all the bishops of the British Isles, that the ignorant may be instructed, the weak in faith strengthened, the unruly corrected by your authority."†

Now the British bishops had considered themselves as entirely independent of any foreign control in ecclesiastical affairs, and as being fully competent to govern their own Church, without having any Augustine to instruct or correct them; and therefore it was not natural for them to submit thus to his jurisdiction, without very serious consideration of the matter beforehand. In order therefore to be the better advised as to the manner in which they should receive his proposals at the

* Bede, Hist. Ecc. i. 29.

† ib. i. 27.

second conference, they applied previously for counsel on this matter, to an aged man of their nation, who had a great character among them for soundness of judgment and holiness of life. His advice to them was, that Augustine, if he were a man of God, ought to be followed ; and that whether he were really so or not, might be known from observing his air and demeanour. “ We know,” said this old counsellor, “ that the Lord saith, *Take my yoke upon you and learn of me ; for I am meek and lowly in heart.* (St. Matt. xi. 29.) If then Augustine be mild and humble in heart, it is credible that he himself beareth the yoke of Christ, and proposeth the same to be borne by you ; but if he be cruel and proud, it appeareth that he is not of God, neither ought ye to give heed to what he saith.”

In compliance with this advice, it was arranged, by the old man’s suggestion, that at the second conference, Augustine should be allowed to enter the place af meeting first ; and that then, if he rose from his seat on the entrance of the British bishops, they should hear him obediently, regarding him as Christ’s servant ; but if he were to slight them by remaining sitting, they also should in that

case pay little attention to him. Accordingly when the time of meeting had arrived, and the British bishops drew near, Augustine continued sitting in his chair as they approached, and they felt themselves affronted, and acted on the feeling.

At this second conference, Augustine “addressed them thus—‘Forasmuch as ye are in the habit of doing many things contrary to our practice, nay to the practice of the universal Church, yet if you will submit to me in these three things, viz.: to celebrate Easter at the right time; to perform the office of baptism, by which we are born anew unto God, according to the method used by the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church; and to unite with us in preaching the word of God to the English people, all the rest of your practices, though they be contrary to our ways, we shall yet endure patiently.’ But they said they would do none of these things, nor have him for their archbishop; remarking to one another, ‘that if he would not rise to us just now, how much more will he view us with utter contempt ere long, if we shall begin to be under his jurisdiction.’”*

* Bede, Lib. ii. 2.

Upon this Augustine, indignant at the untractableness of these bishops, had recourse to menaces, telling them that since they would not join with him in preaching to the Saxons, they should ere long feel the power of their swords ; which accordingly came to pass. For some time after, Ethelfrid, the Pagan king of Northumberland, invaded Wales and caused a great slaughter there ; putting to the sword, among the rest, twelve hundred monks of Bangor in cold blood. Some authors have suspected that Augustine himself was the instigator of this wickedness, but such a supposition seems altogether improbable and without any sufficient historic foundation.

The conference here mentioned took place in A.D. 601. The result of it was of much importance, as laying the foundation of those long continued divisions which afterwards prevailed between the British and English or Anglo-Saxon Christians. It might have been hoped that when the Saxon invaders became converts to the Christian faith, much of that enmity would have died away, which had existed in the minds of the native Britons against a race that had inflicted so much misery

on their country: it might have been expected that when the tie of a common religion came to exist, the old animosities which divided the two nations would have been greatly forgotten, and that they would have been made ‘one in Christ.’ Such however was not the case; only the quarrels between the Saxon and British *nations* were succeeded by contentions between the Saxon *Church* and the *Church* of the British and Irish Christians. The former of these parties meanwhile kept up the closest intimacy and communion with the see of Rome, from which all their ecclesiastical authority was derived; while the British and Irish Christians on the contrary were so far from admitting any of that superiority in the Roman Church, which the others acknowledged, that they were quite separated from her communion, and made little of her judgment in controverted matters which they thought of prime importance. But of the disputes between the British Churches and the Church of Rome, we shall have to speak more particularly in the next sections.

§ 12.—OF THE DISUNION WHICH PREVAILED
BETWEEN THE EARLY BRITISH AND IRISH
CHRISTIANS AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.

If any of my readers be simple enough to imagine that in these early times which we have been considering, our Irish forefathers ever cherished towards the Church of Rome that extravagant reverence for her authority and blind submission to her dictates, which some of this day would consider worthy of all good Catholics, I can perhaps suggest to such an one no better means of correcting his mistake than the account given by Cardinal Baronius of the part the Irish bishops took in the disputes connected with the Nestorian controversy in the sixth century. Much contention had arisen at that time about the orthodoxy of a collection of writings known by the name of the "Three Chapters," which were considered by many to favour the Nestorian heresy. Baronius tells us that all the Irish bishops united in opposing the view taken of this point by the Church of Rome: the passage alluded to in his "Annals" is headed with this title, "THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND SCHISMATICS;" and the words of it are as follows—(A.D. 566.)

“ But through the malice of the demon of evil it came to pass at this period, that while the Church of France was illuminated by so many bright stars, the Church in Ireland which had been up to this time thriving well, became overspread with thick darkness ; having made shipwreck in consequence of not following the bark of Peter, which takes the lead of all, pointing out the road to the gate of salvation : for while desirous to appear more righteous than others, and more wise than was meet, she is unknowingly misled by the schismatics. For a false report having reached them, through the dishonesty of these schismatics, stating that the Fifth Synod had transgressed against the holy Council of Chalcedon, (as if by the condemnation of the Three Chapters it had condemned at the same time the acts of that synod ;) all the bishops that were in Ireland with one accord rose up in the most determined spirit of zeal for the defence of the Three Chapters. And they were guilty moreover of this further wickedness, that when they had perceived the Roman Church to be equally determined in condemning the Three Chapters, and strengthening the Fifth Synod with her consent ;

they at once separated from her, and joined themselves with the rest of the schismatics that were in Italy, or Africa, or other places: puffed up with the vain conceit, that they were standing up for the Catholic faith, in defending the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. So these unhappy misguided persons, influenced by a kind of show of apparent right, having a zeal, but not that which was according to knowledge, (since they dwelt in a very remote part of the world, where they could not have been very easily admonished and corrected, to which circumstance were added the other embarrassments that wars, plague, and famine usually bring in their train,) continued in such a state for a length of time; feeling a pity for those who followed the Fifth Synod as persons who had forsaken the right way of faith; so far were they from being able to comprehend that it was they themselves who were led astray. And they cling the more obstinately to their error from conceiving the idea, that whatever Italy suffered from the troubles of war, famine, or pestilence, all such misfortunes had befallen her in consequence of her having acted as the champion of the Fifth Synod

against the Council of Chalcedon. And in this most unhappy position they continued ever to the times of Pope St. Gregory, that is, to the close of this century, when these bishops above mentioned wrote a letter about these matters to the same Gregory so eminent for sanctity, whom they knew to be a friend of God. But of the answer which Gregory returned to them, we shall speak in the proper place."

Thus far Baronius, out of whose narrative we may collect with Archbishop Ussher, "that the bishops of Ireland did not take all the resolutions of the Church of Rome for undoubted oracles; but when they thought that they had better reason on their sides, they preferred the judgment of other churches before it." And as to their afterwards applying for counsel to Pope Gregory, the words of Baronius himself are sufficient to suggest to us why they did so: not because they considered the bishop of Rome possessed of authority for regulating with his Church the doctrine of all Christians in the world, but because they regarded him as a worthy counsellor, not only for his high station in the Church, but especially on account of his being

*Ther.**Sen Y. N. Y.*

one whom they knew to be eminent for holiness and the love of God.

And further, the Irish did not write to Gregory in terms of abject submission to his pontifical authority, but rather in a tone that implied that they valued indeed his opinion, and would give it due consideration ; yet not so as to feel themselves constrained to adopt it, unless it should commend itself to their own judgment. This appears plainly from the answer which Gregory returned them in A.D. 592. He sends them a book on the subject at issue, which he thinks ought to be sufficient to convince them that they were in the wrong ; and remarks on it in his letter—"If after the reading of this book, you will persist in holding the same opinions that you now entertain, you show beyond a doubt, that you give yourselves to be ruled, not by reason, but by obstinacy."

It is interesting to observe that the schism here spoken of by Baronius, is noted by him as commencing in the very next year after St. Columba had entered upon his apostolic labours in Scotland. Whether the Irish bishops were right or wrong about the Three Chapters, it is plain that they did not at that

time, (which is now nearly thirteen hundred years ago,) consider the Church of Rome to be the infallible and divinely appointed interpreter of the will of God, or conceive that in disregarding her judgment, and acting in opposition to it, they were violating any principle of the Catholic faith.

The narrative of Baronius here inserted brings us down to the close of the sixth century. How matters proceeded at the commencement of the seventh we learn with sufficient clearness from Bede's Church History. Before advancing any further however, it is needful that the reader should understand, that in the times of which we speak, the Irish people were commonly known by the name of Scots or Scottish, and their country by the name of Scotia or Scotland, as well as Hibernia or Ireland: the people of the country now called Scotland being then designated Albanians, Picts, &c. Bede says of Ireland, "This is properly speaking the country of the Scots: emigrating from this they added in Britain a third nation to the Britons and Picts" already settled there. This use of the words continued until very long after Bede's time, even to the latter part of the eleventh century;

and is admitted generally by all writers on the subject of our ancient history. But to resume our narrative.

Augustine was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by one of his companions named Laurentius. This prelate, Bede informs us, "did not only attend to the charge of the new Church that was gathered from the English people, but also regarded with pastoral solicitude the old natives of Britain, and likewise the Scottish (i. e. Irish) tribes which inhabit the island of Ireland adjoining to Britain. For observing that the practice and sentiments of the Scots in their own country here mentioned, and also those of the Britons in Britain itself, were contrary to Church order in many things, (particularly because they used not to celebrate the solemnity of Easter at the proper time, but supposed, as we have shewn above, that the day to be observed in commemoration of the Lord's resurrection was included in the week from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the moon,) he wrote then in conjunction with his fellow bishops, a letter of exhortation, beseeching and entreating them to keep the bond of peace and Catholic observances with

that Church of Christ which is extended all over the world: the beginning of his letter is here given:—

“ ‘ To our Lords and most dear brethren the bishops or abbots throughout all Scotland, (i.e. Ireland,) Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, bishops, the servants of the servants of God. When the Apostolic See, according to her practice in all the world, stationed us in these western parts to preach to the Pagan nations here, and so it came to pass that we entered into this island which is called Britain, before we were acquainted with it: supposing that they walked in the ways of the universal Church, we felt a very high respect for the Britons as well as the Scots, from our regard to their sanctity of character: but when we came to know the Britons, we supposed the Scots must be superior to them. However we have learned from Bishop Daganus coming into this island which we have mentioned above, (i.e. Britain,) and Abbot Columbanus coming into France, that the Scots (i.e. the Irish) differ not at all from the Britons in their habits. For Bishop Daganus when he came to us would not take meat with us, no, not so much as in the same lodging where we were eating.’ ”

“The same Laurentius with his fellow bishops, sent to the priests of the Britons also, a letter worthy of his high station; in which he exerts himself to persuade them to Catholic unity; but how much he gained by these efforts, the state of things to the present day (A. D. 731) sufficiently shews.”*

The state of feeling among the British on the subject of their connexion with the Roman preachers of those times, is illustrated further by the following stanza, translated from the Welsh of Taliessin, a poet styled by the Britons ‘chief of the bards,’ who wrote about A.D. 620, though some think earlier. [The lines are taken from the ‘Chronicle of Wales’ quoted by Archbishop Ussher in his ‘Religion of the Ancient Irish.’]

“Woe be to that priest yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn,
And preach his charge among:
Woe be to that shepherd I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong.
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From Romish wolves his sheep,
With staff and weapon strong.”

About A.D. 634 Pope Honorius made an effort

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. 4.

to bring the Irish into conformity with the see of Rome, and addressed to them a letter in which he exhorted them, "not to esteem their own inconsiderable number, inhabiting the very ends of the earth, as wiser than the Churches of Christ ancient and modern, throughout the world: and not to continue the celebration of a different Easter from theirs, in opposition to the paschal computations, and synodal decrees of the bishops of the whole world."* Soon after the date of this letter the southern Irish, it would appear, adopted the common rule for finding Easter; but the northern Irish, the Picts, and the Britons, continued to follow their own way in this particular for many years after, little regarding the opinions, admonitions, or arguments, of the Pope or clergy of Rome.

Very soon after this, the celebrated and learned Irishman Cummian, who had conformed to the Roman usages, addressed a letter to Segienus who was abbot of Iona at that time, (A.D. 640,) endeavouring to persuade him to agree to the Churches abroad in the observance of Easter, &c. In this letter he urges upon him how presumptuous it was

* Bede. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 19.

to imagine that "Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, all the world errs : the Scots (i.e. Irish) and Britons are the only people who think right."* The monks of Iona were however little moved by Cummian's letter, but adhered to their own ways for at least more than half a century afterwards.

(The throne of the kingdom of Northumberland was filled in A.D. 664 by a prince named Oswy, who had received his education from Irish instructors. Bede in speaking of him says,† that "although he was brought up by the Scottish, yet he knew rightly that the Roman was the Catholic and Apostolic Church," or as it may be translated, "that the Roman Church was Catholic and Apostolic : " where it is plainly implied that the Scots or Irish with whom he had studied, thought otherwise of the Church of Rome.

In the same year (A.D. 664) Wilfrid, one of the Roman party, was chosen archbishop of York : but when nominated to this dignity he at first steadfastly "refused to accept it, lest he should receive his consecration from the Scottish (or Irish) bishops,

* Vid. Ussher's Sylloge.

† Hist. Ec. iii. 29.

or those that had been ordained by the Scots, whose communion the Apostolic see rejected : ” and afterwards he requested to be sent over the sea to France where Catholic bishops might be had, in order to be consecrated there. (For as we learn from Bede, there was not at that time “in all Britain any bishop canonically ordained,” (that is to say, by such as were of the communion of the Church of Rome,) “excepting only Wini,” bishop of the West Saxons. Of this Wilfrid here mentioned, Stephanus the priest (who wrote his life in A.D. 720) informs us that he had learned at Rome, “the right way of computing Easter, which the schismatics of Britain and Ireland were not acquainted with, along with many other rules of ecclesiastical discipline.”*)

But no writer has described with more clearness than Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury in England, the extreme length to which the Britons about this period carried their hatred of the Roman or Saxon Christians. There is still preserved a letter addressed by Aldhelm to Geruntius king of the Britons of West Wales (or Cornwall) and to the

* Ussher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, chap. x.

clergy of his dominions: it was written, by direction of a synod of bishops "from almost all parts of Britain," for the purpose of urging on the Britons the necessity of consulting for the peace and unity of the Church, and adopting a more friendly course of conduct toward men professing the same faith with themselves. In this letter, written about A.D. 690, Aldhelm complains that "the British priests on the other side of the channel of the Severn, puffed up with a conceit of the peculiar purity of their own conversation, do utterly abominate the thought of communion with us, insomuch that they will not condescend, either to join in prayers with us at church, or to sit at meat at the same table with us in the kindly intercourse of society: nay the very fragments that remain of our dishes, and what is left after our refreshments, they throw out to be eaten by their gluttonous dogs and filthy pigs. The vessels too and cups which we use, they take care to have scoured and purified, either with sandy clay from the gravel-pit, or with yellow ashes from their cinders. They cannot bring themselves to salute us peaceably. . . . But further if any of our people, that is, the Catholic

party, will go to them for the purpose of living among them, they do not condescend to admit such persons to their company and society, until they are forced to perform a quarantine of forty days' penance."*

In further illustration of this subject, we find in a collection of canons of the Anglo-Saxon Church, compiled about A.D. 700, one to this effect—"That such as have received ordination from the bishops of the Scots (i.e. the Irish) or Britons, who in the matter of Easter and the tonsure are not united to the Catholic Church, must again by imposition of hands be confirmed by a Catholic bishop, &c."†

And lastly, to close here this section of our work, we have Bede himself telling us in A.D. 731, that "even to this day it is the manner of the Britons to entertain a contempt for the faith and religion of the English, and to hold no more intercourse with them of any sort, than they would with Pagans."‡

* Bonifacii Epistolæ, No. 44.

† Ussher's Religion of the Ancient Irish, chap. x.

‡ Hist. Ec. Lib. ii. cap. 20.

§ 13.—PROGRESS OF THE PASCHAL CONTRO-
VERSY—IRISH CHURCHMEN IN ENGLAND—
SYNOD OF WHITBY.

The early history of the Church in the kingdom of Northumberland is intimately connected with our present subject. That portion of the heptarchy included “beside the shire of Northumberland, and the lands beyond it into Edinburgh frith, Cumberland also, and Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Durham.” This country had embraced the profession of Christianity under King Edwin, A.D. 627, in consequence of the labours of Paulinus, a Roman missionary of the court of Edilburga, Edwin’s queen, who was daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent.

Edwin dying in battle in 632, the whole kingdom relapsed to Paganism, and Queen Edilburga and Paulinus archbishop of York returned to Kent. Two princes apostates from Christianity succeeded; and they having fallen in battle the same year were in their turn succeeded by Oswald, a Christian. This latter prince had been educated among the Scottish people, and therefore on his accession to the throne, being anxious for the propagation of

the Gospel in his dominions, he applied to them to send him Christian teachers to instruct his people. A monk from the college of Iona was therefore sent to him for this purpose. Unhappily however the individual selected proved to be of a harsh and austere disposition; and this was such an impediment to his usefulness that he soon found he could effect little by his preaching; in consequence of which he resigned the work and returned to Iona.

Upon this, Aidan, another monk of the same community, in whom the most devoted piety was combined with an amiable and engaging disposition, succeeded to the mission in Northumberland; having been previously promoted to the episcopal order,* that he might commence his important undertaking in a more becoming and dignified character, and with fuller powers for making all necessary arrangements connected with his work. The personal qualifications of Aidan for the high office to which he was appointed, are spoken of in the highest terms by all writers who have touched on the subject; even by those who held different sentiments

* Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* iii. 5.

from his on things that were esteemed of very serious importance. Thus Bede says of him—"All who went with him, whether those who had undergone the tonsure, or the laity, were given to meditation, that is, paid attention to reading the Scriptures, or learning the Psalms," and he adds, "so much did his life differ from the laziness of our times;" and again, "although he could not observe Easter differently from those who sent him, yet he took care diligently to perform the works of faith, piety, and love, after the manner usual with all godly persons. Whence he was deservedly loved by all, even by those who had a different feeling on the subject of keeping Easter, and he was held in reverence not only by men of mean reputation, but also by the bishops themselves, Honorius of Canterbury, and Felix of the East Angles." Yet all this commendation of Aidan is qualified by Bede's applying to him after all, the words used by St. Paul in reference to the Jews who had rejected our Saviour—"He had," saith Bede, "a zeal for God, yet not altogether according to knowledge." ¶ It is well worthy of remark indeed that St. Aidan and his followers

who vigorously opposed the teaching of the Church of Rome, and were separated from her communion, were notwithstanding respected by the bishops of the Roman Church, as holy and faithful men, whereas at this day it is taught by the Romish divines that out of their Church there is no salvation nor any performance of acts of faith. St. Aidan himself, and the two Irishmen who succeeded to him in the government of the Northumbrian Church, have ever been held in honour and reverence as worthy and venerable men of God, although they acknowledged not the pope's jurisdiction over them, nor considered it at all necessary that they should yield obedience to the traditions which he professed to have received from St. Peter and St. Paul; traditions which our modern Romanists would have us regard as being of the same authority with the Bible itself.

† By the blessing of God upon his work Aidan's labours were eminently prosperous, and he was the means of recovering the kingdom of Northumberland from Paganism. The place which he chose for his residence was Lindisfern, or Holy Island, on the eastern coast of the country; where

he established a collegiate institution similar to that of Iona from which he had come to England. York had been selected by Pope Gregory for the seat of the archbishopric, but St. Aidan and his Irish successors in Northumberland shewed in this matter their independence of the Roman see by disregarding its arrangements, and settling themselves in the position which in their own judgment seemed most convenient.

The next bishop of Holy Island was Finan, another monk of Iona, who declared himself an open adversary to the Roman Easter, and prosecuted the controversy with the opposite party more fiercely than his predecessor had done before him. The dissension which prevailed, arising out of this question, in the lifetime of St. Aidan and St. Finan, was very great; but yet it was in some degree moderated by the great reverence which all men felt for these holy bishops, whose influence was sufficient to preserve some degree of order while they lived. "Aidan was a great support of the sect," says Eadmer,* (a Latin writer of A.D. 1123) "inasmuch as he was tolerated by

* In vita Wilfrid. § 13.—Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum* O. S. B.

all persons with a sort of patience, when they took into consideration the exemplary character of the life which he spent in the service of God." And his successor, the same writer observes, trod altogether in the footsteps of Aidan. St. Finan was a very active missionary of the Gospel, and "by his means" (as Archbishop Ussher* collects from Bede) "not only the kingdom of the East Saxons, which contained Essex, Middlesex, and half of Hertfordshire, regained, but also the large kingdom of Mercia was first converted unto Christianity; which comprehended under it, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Cheshire, and the other half of Hertfordshire." Indeed when we consider how largely and effectually these Irish missionaries and their followers laboured in advancing the Christian cause in England, we may well be inclined to agree in the remark of Archbishop Ussher, that they, who professed no sub-

* Religion of A. I. chap. 10.

jection to the see or Church of Rome, did in their extraordinary sanctity of life and painfulness in preaching the Gospel go far beyond those of the other side, that afterward thrust them out and entered in upon their labours.*

But the contest about Easter, however restrained during the lives of St. Aidan and St. Finan, could be borne no longer when the latter died; it had extended itself even into private families, and tended to disturb the harmony of the royal residence itself; King Oswy being of the Scottish persuasion, and his queen and eldest son following the Roman system. In order therefore to decide between the contending parties and settle the controversy, a council was summoned by the authority of King Oswy, at Streaneshall, now named Whitby, in Yorkshire; where St. Hilda, the mother-abbess of the monastery of Streaneshall, supplied the place of moderator. This council was held in A.D. 664. St. Colman then occupied the bishopric of Holy Island; he was the third monk of Iona who had filled that dignity, and he steadily trod in the same steps as the two others that had preceeded

* Religion of A. I. chap. 10.

him, in opposing the Roman party. In the synod of Whitby therefore, he was the principal speaker in behalf of the Irish method of keeping Easter : while the chief supporter of the Roman customs was Wilfrid already mentioned (in the last section) who had received his education at Rome, and who therefore naturally favoured in all matters, the system of the Roman Church.

At the council St. Colman was allowed to speak first, and the argument used by him on this occasion is thus given in the "Life of Wilfrid" (by Stephen the priest,)—"Our fathers and their predecessors, who were manifestly inspired by the Holy Ghost, as Columbkille was, did ordain that Easter should be celebrated on the fourteenth day of the moon, in case it were on Sunday ; following the example of John the apostle and evangelist, who leaned upon the Lord's breast at supper, and was called the lover of the Lord. He celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon ; and we celebrate it in like manner as did his disciples, Polycarp and others ; neither dare we, for our parts, neither will we, change this."

Bede gives the speech of Colman thus—"This

Easter which I am used to observe, I received from my seniors who sent me bishop hither : which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated in the same manner ; which, that it may not seem unto any to be contemned and rejected, is the same that the blessed Evangelist St. John, the disciple specially beloved by our Lord, with all the Churches that he did oversee, is read to have celebrated.” “And is it to be believed that Columba, our most reverend father, and his successors, men beloved of God, who observed Easter in the same manner that we do, did hold or do that which was contrary to the Holy Scriptures?”*

In answer to St. Colman and his Irish friends, Wilfrid objected that they, with their partners the Picts and Britons, “out of the two utmost isles of the ocean, and not having even the whole of these to support them, were with foolish labour fighting against the whole world.” “And if that Columba of yours,” saith he, “yea and ours also if he were Christ’s, was holy and powerful in virtues, could he be preferred before the most

* Bede. H. E. iii. 25. 29.

blessed prince of the apostles? unto whom the Lord said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.*”*

In fine Wilfrid closed by uttering an anathema against all who should dare to celebrate any but the Roman Easter.

From Bede’s account it would appear, (as Archbishop Ussher notes,) that the language of Wilfrid “wrought much upon the simplicity of King Oswy;” who finding that all parties were unanimous in admitting that such a promise had been made to Peter, resolved not to act, as regarded this matter, in a way that appeared to be contrary to the authority of so great an apostle; “lest,” said he, “upon my coming to the doors of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open if he were displeased who is proved to have possession of the keys.” But Stephen, in his life of Wilfrid, states that Oswy said these words *smiling*, which would make him appear less simple than the archbishop represents him, and less serious than he ought to have been.

* Bede. H. E. iii. 25.

The result of the council was however altogether unfavourable to the Irish party, the Roman customs being now received by authority into the Northumbrian realm, and the only choice for those who had opposed them, being either now to submit to them, or quit their places. St. Colman preferred the latter alternative, and resigned his bishopric; being “influenced through fear of his country, to regard with contempt the tonsure and method of observing Easter” * used by the Romans; and “perceiving that his doctrine was despised, and his sect looked down upon, taking with him those who would follow him, that is to say, such as would not receive the Catholic Easter and the tonsure of the crown (for of that also there was then no small question) he returned back again to the Scots’ country.”† Such was the respect which an Irish saint of the seventh century had for the authority of the Church of Rome, and such the reverence with which he bowed to her dictates when this council decided in her favour, against the traditions which he had received from the first Christian teachers of his own people. The Scottish monks also that

* Steph. in Vit. Wilfrid. cap. x. † Bede. H. E. iii. 26.

were at Ripon in Yorkshire, (as well as those above mentioned, whom Colman had gathered together in Lindisfarne) “being offered their choice, preferred to quit their place rather than to receive the Catholic Easter and other canonical rites, according to the custom of the Roman and Apostolic Church.”*

And so did matters remain among the Irish about forty years after that, until their own countryman Adamnanus persuaded most of them to yield to the custom of the Churches abroad in this particular. †

The Picts likewise conformed soon after under King Naitan, who “by his royal authority commanded Easter to be observed throughout all the provinces of the Picts according to the cycle of nineteen years, abolishing the erroneous period of eighty-four years” which they before used; and also caused “all priests and monks to be shorn crownwise” after the Roman manner. ‡

The monks of Iona or Y-Columbkille in like manner were induced in A.D. 716, by the persuasion of Egbert, an English priest that had been educated in Ireland, to give up the mode of calculating Easter and the tonsure which they had received

* Bed. H. E. iii. 25. et iv. 4. et v. 20. † ib. iii. 16. et 22. ‡ ib. iii. 22.

from Columbkille one hundred and fifty years before, and to follow the Roman rite about eighty years after the time of Pope Honorius, and the sending of Bishop Aidan from thence into England.

The Britons in the time of Bede still retained their old usage, until Elbodus, chief bishop of North Wales, who died in A.D. 809, brought in the Roman Easter; but we have reason to believe that West Wales stood out still longer, and adhered to the old system until A.D. 842, or even later.

Before passing from this part of our subject we should notice the circumstance that Wilfrid was the person chosen in St. Colman's place to be archbishop of York, and that he was able afterwards to boast, "that he was the first who taught the true Easter in Northumberland, having turned out the Irish; who arranged that the Church singing should be parted on sides; and who ordered the rule of St. Benedict to be observed by monks." * We have already seen that he was at first unwilling to accept the high office proposed to him, lest he should be obliged to receive his consecration from

* Gulielm. Malmesb. Lib. iii. de Gestis Pontific. Angl.

British or Scottish divines; to avoid which he was at his own request allowed to go beyond sea to France, in order to make sure of canonical ordination. But while Wilfrid protracted time abroad, King Oswy “induced by the advice of the Quatordecimans,* appointed another person named Ceadda or Chad, a most religious servant of God and an admirable doctor that came from Ireland,” to be ordained bishop of York in his room. This Ceadda was a scholar of Bishop Aidan.

Wilfrid however after some time returned home and had his bishopric restored to him, while St. Chad was removed to the newly founded bishopric of Lichfield. Wilfrid’s after life is not wanting in many interesting particulars, but it is less intimately connected with the Church history of Ireland, and my readers are already sufficiently informed of all that concerns the subject immediately under consideration.

* Gul. Malmes. lib. iii. de Gest. Pont. Angl.—Steph. Presb. Vit. Wilf. cap. 14.

§ 14.—OF THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE
POINTS DISPUTED BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF
ROME AND THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCHES.

When we see that the peace of the Christian body in these islands was so disturbed in early times by strife and dissension; that so great a want of sympathy and brotherly kindness existed between our bishops and those who were in communion with the Church of Rome; that the two parties were so much at variance with each other, that those of the one side were unwilling to receive holy orders from those of the other side, or to join in prayers with them at church, or even at meat in a public lodging; we are naturally led to ask, what were the exact points about which they contended, or were they of such great importance as to justify the extreme and vehement zeal which both parties manifested in behalf of their own peculiar systems and opinions.

Now the question about Easter being that which was most argued between these two parties, I shall first explain what their difference was with regard to this point, in as few words as may suffice for a clear statement of the controversy.

The Resurrection of our Blessed Lord from the

grave took place on that first day of the week which came next after the Jewish Passover ; in order therefore to celebrate the commemoration of this glorious event at a corresponding season annually, it was only needed to select for this purpose in every year, the Sunday after the day appointed for the Passover. Now we know that the Jews were commanded to keep their Passover on the 14th day of the first month, i. e. on the 14th day of the moon first occurring after the vernal Equinox or 21st day of March, according to their computation : and the day for observing Easter would according to the same reckoning, be the Sunday following the 14th day of the next moon after March 21st ; that is, the Sunday which came in the week from the 15th to the 21st day of that moon.

Some however of the early Christians were accustomed to follow a different rule in fixing the day for commemorating the Resurrection. Those of Lesser Asia in particular were distinguished from the Church of Rome and all the western Churches ; by selecting for this festival not the Sunday, but the *third* day, after the Passover, on whatever day of the week it might fall. This practice gave great

offence to the general body of Christians, who deemed it unlawful to celebrate the Resurrection of our Lord on any day but Sunday, as that was the day on which this glorious event happened; and they who celebrated it on a weekday according to the system of the Asiatics, were known by the reproachful name of Quartodecimans, (from the Latin word *quartus-decimus*, fourteenth) in consequence of their regulating Easter from the 14th day of the moon, regardless whether the day selected were a Sunday or not.

But even among those who were agreed in judging that Easter ought to be celebrated always on a Sunday, and never on any other day of the week, (as the Britons, Irish, and Romans,) there were still two causes of disagreement which led different parties to choose different Sundays for the Festival; these different days being sometimes a week, sometimes a month, (as the case might be) distant from each other.

First, the Irish were accustomed to observe their Easter, not in the week from the 15th to the 21st day of the moon, but in that from the 14th to the 20th day; or in other words, not always on

the Sunday after the Passover, but sometimes on the day of the Passover itself, when that should fall on Sunday.* “The Irish often celebrated their Easter,” says Eadmer, “when it was Palm Sunday, in consequence of its being on the 14th day of the moon, which is the limit of the Paschal day;” and for this they were often spoken of as “Quartodecimans” by writers of the Roman party, although the term was not properly applicable to them, and such a use of the word has led to much confusion; but it is too natural for men when finding fault with their neighbours for being in the wrong on any subject, to attribute to them the extreme of that error into which they are supposed to have fallen.

It is plain that the difference here noticed between the Irish and Romans in their method of determining Easter-day, might lead to a week’s difference in the time of observing it, when one party would have it on the 14th and another on 21st day of the moon. But the *second* circumstance above alluded to occasioned sometimes a still wider disagreement in this respect; in order to

* Bed. Hist. Ec. iii. 4.—Steph. in Vit. Wilfrid. cap. x.—Eadmer. Vit. Wilf. § 13.

explain which it will be needful very briefly to consider the method which they used in finding the moon's age. If the full moons were to fall on the same days of the months in all years, the Passover-day could be easily determined; for instance, if the first full moon after the 21st of March were always to fall on the 24th of that month, then Easter Sunday would be always the Sunday in the week from March 25, to March 31, it would be in fact the last Sunday in March. But it is well known that the full moons fall on different days in different years, so that whatever days they may fall on in the present year for example, they will not come on exactly the same days of the months for several years again. In order therefore to determine on what days they will occur in coming years, different *cycles*, (or periods of so many years) have been invented, after the expiration of which the new and full moons were found to fall again on the same days as before. Now the Irish used in their calculation of the moon's age, what was called the cycle of Sulpicius Severus, (being so named from its inventor,) which consisted of eighty-four years; but

the Romans regulated their calculations by the cycle of Anatolius, which consisted of 19 years ; it was much more correct than the other, and was at the Council of Nice (in A.D. 325,) established for the general rule by which Easter should be determined. It is also the rule which with some little corrections, is still followed for this purpose ; and it is so nearly accurate, that after every nineteen years the new and full moon fall on the same days as before, and within an hour and a half of the same time of the day.

It is very easy to see here, how great a difference might arise from the disagreement between those cycles, since a day, or even some hours more or less, in the moon's age, might give rise to a month's distance between the days marked by the two cycles respectively for the celebration of Easter ; for if the full moon were to fall on the 21st of March according to the one cycle, while the other assigned it to the 20th of March, the Sunday following that full moon would be Easter, according to the first method, while according to the second, Easter would be the Sunday after the next full moon, or a month later. And accordingly St.

Cummian, in his letter to Segienus already mentioned, tells him, that in one year somewhat before the date of his letter, while the Egyptians, Grecians, Hebrews, and Scythians, and all the world were agreed in keeping Easter at the same time, the Irish were disjoined from them by the space of a whole month.

This matter being now sufficiently explained, we may next inquire what was the nature of the dispute about the tonsure which was usually connected with it; and this a few words will serve to describe. The Irish used to shave off the hair in front of the head from ear to ear, allowing it to grow behind, and in this consisted their tonsure; the Romans on the other hand were accustomed to shave the hair from the top, leaving only a circle of it to grow round the head at the lowermost part; and this was the Roman tonsure, which they of that party professed to have derived from St. Peter.

The controversy about Easter commenced at a very early period between the Asiatics and Romans; and so soon as the middle of the second century, the venerable St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, came to Rome to confer with Anicetus, bishop of

that city, about this matter ; their meeting however proved unsuccessful, as far as the hope of terminating the dispute was concerned ; for neither could persuade the other to adopt his system ; only they agreed, as became Christian bishops, that the bond of peace and brotherly kindness was not to be broken for such an unworthy cause as a question of this sort would be. But Pope Victor towards the conclusion of this century, who was far less moderate than his predecessor Anicetus had been, took upon him to command the Asiatic bishops to conform to the western Churches, and when they resolutely refused to do so, he hesitated not to thunder forth an excommunication against them. Such violence did not however meet with the approbation of the more wise and moderate men of that day, and it was attended with little effect.

When we look back on those ancient controversies that occupied so much of the time and attention of our forefathers, and view them with the calm and dispassionate feelings with which we can regard the events of distant times, it is astonishing to think how Christian men could ever have contended so warmly about such unimportant trifles as those

subjects are now felt to be^x by men of all parties.—Of the tonsure the learned Romanist Mabillon remarks, that “a small matter as it now appears; and one that may seem scarce worth a serious consideration, then involved those islanders in sharp altercation,” * and again of this business and the Paschal controversy, he expresses himself thus—“A question then about one day occupied the Church for nearly 600 years; and three centuries at least, were scarcely sufficient for settling the hair of quarrelsome men.”

Yet inconsiderable as were the causes of disagreement between these men, they were treated and spoken of as matters of the most serious importance. A difference about the tonsure and Easter was regarded with as much abhorrence as if it had been some grave corruption of doctrine or perversion of the faith. The man who could think of the 14th of the moon as being a fit day for a festival, was looked upon as sympathising after some sort with the Jews, who crucified the son of God; and he that used the Irish tonsure was charged with having borrowed it from the odious Simon Magus.†

* Præf. ad. Acta Sanctorum O. S. B † Aldhelmi. Ep. ad Gerunt.

Eadmer says, "in Colman's times there was sharp controversy about the observing of Easter, and other rules of life for churchmen; therefore this question deservedly excited the minds and feelings of many people, fearing lest perhaps after having received the name of Christians, they *should run or had run in vain*."*

Still however, while there was so much said about things of less material consequence, we must not omit to observe that there was a matter of much greater importance at issue, although it was little brought directly into the controversy; and this was the independence of our ancient churches in these islands. We have already seen how well disposed Augustine was to deprive the British bishops of their liberty, and how resolutely they opposed this intention of his, although it was not one of the things mentioned as having been formally or directly proposed by him at their meeting that they should submit to his jurisdiction; and throughout the controversy the policy of both sides appeared to continue pretty much the same, the Roman party endeavouring to extend their influence and autho-

* Vit. Wilfrid. § 13.

rity, but in such a way as not to make the necessity of submission to their head the chief subject of debate ; and the Britons, &c., on the other hand feeling that their liberty was attempted to be encroached upon, and being resolved to resist the disposition manifested by their opponents to tyrannize by forcing one independent Church to submit to the discipline of another in matters which were left indifferent by our Lord and his Apostles. “ They were used to say that Rome ought to yield in matters which were of human institution, rather than break peace ; provided that the law of God, the faith, the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles were maintained in their purity ; these latter having been delivered by Christ himself, the instructor and light of the life of man.”* These are the words used in describing their feelings by Mantuanus, an eminent Carmelite friar and poet who flourished in the year 1494.

✂ The Britons and their party were considered by those of the other side to have cut themselves off from the body of the Catholic Church, and this is constantly stated or implied by the various writers

* Ussher's Religion of A. I. chap. x.

of the Roman party. X Thus Aldhelm, in the letter already quoted says, " what avail the advantages of good works if they be performed outside the Catholic Church." The close of the same letter of Aldhelm expresses so curiously the importance attached by the Roman party to their tonsure and Easter, that I cannot help introducing a sentence or two here in illustration of this particular—" If then," exclaims this writer " the keys of the kingdom of Heaven were conferred on Peter by Christ . . . who that despises the principal statutes of his Church and disregards her doctrinal decrees, can enter with joy through the gate of the heavenly paradise ? and if it was his happy lot and peculiar privilege to be thought worthy of receiving the power of binding and monarchy of loosing in heaven and earth, who that refuses to adopt the rule of the Paschal festival and the method of tonsure used by Rome, can by any possibility think but that he is to be bound hereafter with the tight chains that can never be loosed, instead of being mercifully pardoned. But perhaps some of your ingenious book readers and ready-witted arguers out of the Scriptures will defend himself with such

a shield of excuse, and guard himself with a buckler of apology such as this, saying, ‘ I reverence with sincere faith the precepts of both Old and New Testament, and confess my heartfelt belief in the one essence, and one substance, and threefold existence of persons, in the Holy Trinity. The sacred mystery of the Lord’s Incarnation, and the cross of his passion, and his triumphant Resurrection, I will preach freely among the people ; I will be careful to tell them of the last judgment of quick and dead, when every individual shall have assigned to him a retribution of one kind or another in accordance with mens’ different deservings, adjusted by the nicest scales of equity ; and by the privilege I enjoy in holding this faith, I shall be entitled to a place among the company of Catholics without hindrance or gainsay.’ But I must exert myself,” continues Aldhelm, “to break down and dash to pieces the bulwark of this excuse, (which they trust in as being sufficient to hide and protect them,) levelling it to the ground with the engine of apostolic reprimand. For St. James saith *that faith without works is dead* : and the Catholic faith and brotherly kindness ever go inseparably hand in

hand. And to close the whole business with the bolt of one short instance, that man makes a vain and empty brag of the Catholic faith, who does not follow the decree and rule of St. Peter." "For although," adds the writer of this letter, "the foundation of the Church was laid primarily in Christ, it was in a secondary sense laid in Peter also, when it was said to him *Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build my Church.*" The letter from which I have made such large extracts, furnishes us with a curious specimen of a controversial argument of the seventh century, bearing in some degree on the question of the supremacy of the Church of Rome. We may see clearly from it, that at the time when it was written, those of that Church had no fault to find with the doctrines of their opponents, but only with their customs and discipline; the man who was not shorn crown-wise being no Catholic in the estimation of those who were more violent and active on the Roman side of the controversy. That the two parties agreed in their general doctrines upon all important points of faith is also very evident from the account given us by Bede of the intercourse which took place be-

tween Augustine and the British bishops; they acknowledging that it was the true way of righteousness which he taught; and he for his part evincing a desire to have them as helpers in preaching the Gospel to the heathen, provided only that the ceremonial differences between them could be satisfactorily adjusted.

On the whole, whatever violence or passion may have been manifested by any persons in these unworthy contests, it is certain that the more pious and moderate on both sides were able to recognise in each other the Christian character, and regard one another with all the respect and sympathy and love that was due to fellow-members of the Church of God.

§ 15.—OF THE CHARACTER OF THE EARLY IRISH FOR LEARNING BEFORE AND IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

There is no circumstance in the ancient history of Ireland upon which a true Irishman can dwell with more interest and pleasure, than the singular

reputation for learning and advancement in Christian knowledge by which this island was distinguished in the first ages after the introduction of Christianity into it. According to the unanimous testimony of our old authors, the Irish people in those times were eminent for the cultivation of letters, philosophy; and sacred studies, and the country was thickly planted in every part with bishops' sees and religious establishments, schools, colleges, and other seminaries of learning, that made it a sort of university to which students flocked in great numbers for the purpose of enjoying the superior advantages that were to be had here in prosecuting all, but especially theological, studies. From the great regard that was had for the honour of God, and the ample means employed for promoting the knowledge and practice of religion, the island received the name of *Insula Sacra*, the Sacred Isle, or *Insula Sanctorum*, the Isle of Saints. Yet still many of the princes and people were men of violence and blood, and intestine wars and violent deaths often told how many there were still whose minds were occupied with other things than the objects of the Gospel of peace.

The literary fame of Ireland in those times is a matter which does not rest for its evidence on any doubtful records, or obscure testimonies of prejudiced writers: it is a circumstance interwoven with the Church history of Europe, and one the truth of which is attested by the most authentic and trustworthy historians of other lands, as we shall see presently in some particular instances. First however let us observe the cause of the preference given formerly to an Irish education, and see what were its chief attractions; and it will easily appear that they consisted chiefly, first in the strict discipline observed in the schools of Ireland which must have tended very visibly to the advancement of learning; and secondly and especially the knowledge of Holy Scripture possessed by our old divines, and the character they maintained for ability in instructing others in it. We have already seen how much of this knowledge St. Patrick himself possessed, and it may be noticed further of him here, that (in a Latin Hymn written in his praise by his nephew Secundinus, or St. Seachlin,) he is said to "have found a sacred treasure in the sacred volume." From Adamnanus we learn

that the disciples of St. Columba were used to support their doctrines "by referring to the testimony of Holy Scripture." And of the other ancient Saints of Ireland and their early intimacy with the Bible, similar things are recorded, so that Dr. Lanigan, the Roman Catholic historian of the Irish Church, tells us of a vessel that arrived in Cork harbour in Saint Senan's time, "bringing fifty religious persons passengers from the Continent, who came to Ireland, either for the purpose of leading a life of stricter discipline, or of improving themselves in the study of the Scriptures."* Of the successors of Columbkille, Bede says that they "only observed those works of piety and chastity which they could learn in the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings;"† and agreeable to this is what we have recorded of St. Aidan, that "all who went with him, whether those who had undergone the tonsure, or the laity, were bound to employ themselves in reading the Scriptures or learning the Psalms."

Again, Bede having mentioned a plague that raged in the kingdom of Northumberland, A.D. 664,

* Lanigan's Ch. Hist. vol. ii. page 2.

† Bede. iii. 5.

goes on to say—" This disaster visited Ireland likewise with equal violence. There were in that country at the time we speak of, many of the nobility and of the middle classes too of the English people, who in the time of bishops Finan and Colman, had left their native isle and retired thither, (i.e. to Ireland,) either for the purpose of studying the Word of God, or else to observe a stricter life. And some indeed presently devoted themselves to the monastic profession, while others chose rather to pay visits to the chambers of the different masters, and so to carry on their studies ; all of whom the Scots received most cordially, and provided with daily food free of charge, as likewise with books to read, and gratuitous instruction. Among these students were two of the English nobility, named Edilhun and Egbert, youths of excellent parts, the first of whom was the brother of Edilwin, a man equally beloved of God, who himself also went to Ireland in the following age for the purpose of studying there, and returned to his country well educated ; after which having been appointed bishop in the province of Lindis, he ruled that church most nobly for many years."*

* Bede. Hist. Ec. Lib. iii. cap. 27.

In another part of Bede's history we have an account of a distinguished foreigner who came about this time to be instructed in Ireland. It occurs in the history of the West Saxons. Some years after their conversion to Christianity, we are told that in A.D. 650, "there came into their province from Ireland a certain bishop named Agilbert, a native indeed of France, but who had then spent no small time in Ireland for the sake of reading the Scriptures; and he associated himself with the king [of the West Saxons], taking on himself voluntarily the ministry of preaching; whose learning and industry when the king observed, he asked him to accept the episcopal see of that place and remain as bishop with his people."* Agilbert accordingly did so, and remained there many years; he was afterwards bishop of Paris, and assisted at the synod of Whitby in that character.

In A.D. 685, Alfred, son of king Oswy, succeeded his brother Egfrid on the throne of Northumberland; he was as Bede says, "a man most learned in the Scriptures,"† who when the throne became vacant "was living as a sojourner in the country of

* Bed. H. E. iii. 7. † Ib. iv. 27.

the Scots, and there imbibing heavenly wisdom with all his heart's attention; for he had left his native land and its pleasant fields, to learn in studious exile the mysteries of the Lord."*

He was, as we are informed by another famous ancient historian, the elder brother, but thought unworthy of the throne in consequence of his being a natural son; upon which "either by compulsion, or from indignation, he retired into Ireland. There, safe from any unkindness on the part of his brother, and immersed in literary pursuits, for which he had such abundant leisure, he had gotten his mind stored with philosophy in all its branches."†

My readers ought to be by this time pretty familiar with the name of Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, whom I have had occasion to mention so much already. There is preserved a curious letter of his to a student named Eahfrid, who had just returned home to England from Ireland after having spent six years in study in the latter country. "Why," says Aldhelm to him in this letter, "why should Ireland, whither students are transported in troops by fleets, be exalted with

* Bed. in *Carmines de Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. xxi.

† Gul. Malmes. de gestis Reg. Angl. Lib. i.

such unspeakable advantages, as if here in the rich soil of England, there could not be found any Grecian or Roman teachers to expound by their interpretations the dark problems of the celestial library (i.e. the Bible) to inquiring youths. For even though the above-named country of Ireland, a rich and verdant pasture (so to say) for the studious throng of readers to graze in, be ornamented with bright stars like those that glitter in the arch of heaven," yet England, he goes on to say, is not without similar or still higher advantages, if they were but duly estimated; and he refers in particular to Theodore, at that time archbishop of Canterbury, who was a distinguished patron and promoter of learning.*

In fact Ireland was the country from which the light of truth burst forth in those days to illuminate a great part of the countries of Europe then lying in Pagan darkness. It was St. Columbanus, an Irishman, that converted the Suevi, Boii, and Franks of Germany; St. Kilianus, another Irishman, brought the Gospel to the eastern Franks; St. Gallus the apostle of Switzerland, was an Irishman; and Batavia, Friesland, and Westphalia,

* Vid. Ussher's Sylloge.

were brought to the profession of the Christian faith, by the labours of the famous missionary St. Willibrord, who though not an Irishman by birth, was one by education, and may well be supposed to have received in this isle, not only the learning that fitted him for his mission, but also those religious impressions which made him willing to undertake it. ^ This Willibrord was born in Northumberland about A.D. 658 ; he became afterwards archbishop of Utrecht, and died about A.D. 740. His life was written in Latin both in prose and verse by Alcuin, or Albinus, the most celebrated and universal scholar of the ninth century, who was preceptor likewise of the famous French emperor Charlemagne. Alcuin tells us that after Willibrord had spent the first twenty years of his life advancing in wisdom, piety, and sacred studies, he then became anxious to lead a stricter life, and also to improve himself by travelling. “ And because he had heard that scholastic learning was highly cultivated in Ireland,” and being further influenced by the character of certain holy persons living there, whose fame had reached him, especially that of the two named Egbert and Wicbert, “ each of whom

through love of the heavenly country, leaving home, kindred, and native land, retired to Ireland; and there divested of worldly cares and wholly occupied with God, was daily imbibing in lonely life the delightful fruits of contemplation on things above. The holy youth therefore, (i.e. Willibrord) anxious to emulate the religious life of these persons, came with a swift passage into Ireland, with consent of his abbot and brethren; attaching himself to the society of the reverend persons above named, in order that he might, like some very skilful bee, from having them so near him, be able to taste the honey-dropping flowers of piety, and build the sweet comb of virtues in the hive of his own bosom. And there, (i.e. in Ireland) for twelve years did this young man, that was afterwards to become a preacher to many nations, receive instruction from the first masters of pious devotedness and sacred learning, until he came to the state of a perfect man, and to the age of the fulness of Christ.”*

This extract is from the prose life of Willibrord: in the poetic one likewise Alcuin mentions his birthplace and education, describing him as one

* Alcuin. Vit. Willibrord.

“to whom fertile Britain gave birth, and whom *learned Ireland* instructed in sacred studies.”* The same statement is again repeated in the poem, with a slight change in the manner of expression, thus—“as I have already noticed in my verse, fertile Britain was his parent soil, the country of the Scots his noble instructress.”† From a comparison of the two last passages it is plain, that in the days of Charlemagne, when Alcuin wrote, (A.D. 800) the “Scots’ country” and “Ireland” meant one and the same thing.

§ 16.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED—THE EIGHTH AND FOLLOWING CENTURIES, A.D. 715–1100.

Pursuing the same subject, which occupied us in the last section, the next eminent individual whom we may notice as having come to Ireland for the purpose of study, is Egbert, the person who, as already mentioned, was the means of persuading the monks of Iona to adopt the Roman Easter. Venerable Bede describes him as a “most

* Idem. *Vita metrica*. Init.

† ib. cap. 33.

reverend and holy father and priest, of the English nation, who for love to Christ had spent a long exile in Ireland, and was both deeply learned in the Scriptures, and eminent for holiness throughout a long life.”*

Among the ancient Irish who made the Holy Scriptures their chief study and helped to explain them to others, the names of two divines, Sedulius and Claudius, are worthy of special notice, as the authors of commentaries on parts of the Sacred Writings.

Sedulius is described by Archbishop Ussher as “one of the most ancient writers that remaineth of this country birth.”† The archbishop makes him nearly contemporary with St. Patrick, assigning the year 490, for the time in which he flourished. Others make Sedulius so late as the year 815, considering him to be the same with Cœlius Sedulius, an author mentioned by many writers as an “eloquent orator,” an “evangelical poet,” a “Catholic writer.” Dr. Lanigan admits that Sedulius is universally allowed to have been an Irishman, and author of the commentary on St. Paul’s epistles usually attributed to him.

* Hist. Ec. iii. 4.

† Religion of A.I. chap. i.

Claudius Scotus lived about the year 815. Ussher speaks of him as “ a famous divine, counted one of the founders of the University of Paris.” Dr. Lanigan however is unwilling to admit that Claudius was an Irishman. He wrote commentaries on St. Matthew’s gospel, St. Paul’s epistles, and other parts of Holy Scripture.

The divinity contained in the commentaries of Sedulius and Claudius is very much at variance with that which is taught in the Romish Church in Ireland at this day, and which some would have us to believe to be old doctrine. It would be impossible in so small a work as the present to give any large selection of passages to confirm this remark ; a few sentences from Sedulius will however in some measure answer the purpose, and they will be read with interest, illustrating as they do the opinions of our old divines ; for (as Ussher well remarks,) “ what one man of note hath delivered, the contrary whereof is not to be found in others of his countrymen who lived about the same time, that is to be supposed to have been the doctrine which was commonly received in those countries at that time.” Now with respect to saving grace, Sedulius

speaks thus—"What hast thou of thyself except sin ? (I. Cor. iv.)—By grace are ye saved through faith, that is, not by works, (Eph. ii.)—Grace is abject and vain if it alone do not suffice us. (Galat. ii.)—You entertain but a poor opinion of Christ, if you think that he is not sufficient for you to salvation. (Gal. iii.)—I live by the faith of the son of God, that is, by faith alone as owing nothing to the law. (Gal. ii.)—The patriarchs and prophets were justified, not by the works of the law but by faith." (ib.) Again, Sedulius had no idea of purgatory, for he speaks of the end of this life as a thing " to which either death or life succeeds," (Rom. vii.) and he also calls death " the gate by which we enter into our kingdom." (I. Cor. iii.) Nor did he think it allowable to offer adoration to saints or angels, for (at Rom. i.) he says that " to adore any other besides the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost is the crime of impiety." And as for images, he reproves in the same strain the wise men of the heathen for supposing that they had found out a way " how the invisible God may be worshipped by a visible image." Miracles too he conceived not to exist, believing that " the faith

having increased, miracles were to cease, forasmuch as they are declared to have been given for their sakes that believe not." (I. Cor. xiv.) Such doctrines Sedulius set forth, and the like did Claudius, who in some places is still more clearly opposed to the interpretations of Scripture current among the Roman Catholic party at this day.

The "History of the Reign of Charlemagne" emperor of France, which was written about seventy years after his death by a monk of St. Gallus in Switzerland, commences with a curious account of two learned Irishmen who came to settle in France at the close of the eighth century. "When the illustrious Charles," says this writer, "had begun to reign alone in the western parts of the world, and literature was everywhere almost forgotten, it came to pass that two Scots from Ireland, men incomparably learned both in human knowledge and in the Holy Scriptures, came over with some British merchants to the shores of France." These persons, he goes on to say, stood every day in the public place where persons came together to buy and sell, and there used to cry out to the people, "If any person wishes for wisdom, let him come to us and

receive it, for we have it to sell." This strange proceeding of theirs attracted as might have been expected much attention, and was at length reported to Charlemagne himself, who caused the two strangers to be sent for and introduced into his presence. He was much pleased with their conversation, and kept both of them with him for some time ; after which he appointed one of them, named Clement, head of a College in France, entrusting to his care a large number of youths, some of the highest nobility, and others of the middle and even the lowest classes of the people. The other of these Irishmen was appointed to a similar charge in Italy.

The year 831 is a notable and memorable one in the history of Christianity, as being that in which the doctrine of Transubstantiation was first clearly laid down and published in the Church. This was done by a monk named Paschasius Radbert (who was afterwards abbot of Corbey in Westphalia) in a treatise concerning the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ ; in which he set forth, *First*, that after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, nothing re-

maintained of those symbols but the outward figure under which the Body and Blood of Christ were really and locally present ; and *Secondly*, that the Body of Christ thus present in the Eucharist was the same body which was born of the Blessed Virgin, that suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead. This new doctrine excited, as well it might, the astonishment of many, and it was accordingly opposed on various grounds by some of the most able and eminent men of that day. Two of the most distinguished maintainers of the old view of the subject in opposition to the novel speculations of Paschasius Radbert, were Bertram or Ratramne, and the celebrated Irishman Johannes Scotus Erigena. These learned men were ordered by the emperor Charles the Bald, to draw up a clear and rational exposition of that important doctrine which Radbert had so egregiously corrupted. The book which Bertram wrote is still preserved, and various English translations of it have been published in Great Britain during the last century ; but the treatise of Johannes Scotus unfortunately perished in the ruins of time ; its character however is described as having been dis-

tinguished for the marks of a philosophical genius to be found in it, and for the logical precision with which he treated the question. As for the doctrine contained in his book, it is said to have agreed wholly with that which Bertram set forth, and so to be pure and orthodox; it appears that Johannes Scotus himself long held a place in the Roman list of saints, until transubstantiation in later ages became the doctrine of the Schoolmen; and then his opinions being found to be against it, his name was expunged from the Roman Martyrology.*

Johannes Scotus is acknowledged to have been one of the most eminent men to whom our country ever gave birth, and his literary and philosophical accomplishments, as well as his great natural abilities, are spoken of in terms of the highest commendation by those who have mentioned his character and genius. The learned Mosheim in his Church History,† dwells on the subject at much length, but want of space forbids my introducing

* Cave's Hist. Litt. quoted in the introduction to the first volume of the Dublin University Calendar, which contains some interesting matter relative to the ancient schools in Ireland:

† Cent. 9; part. 2. chap: 1. sec. 7; also chap: 4. See also Cent. 7. p. i. chap: i:

here his warm encomiums on our illustrious countryman.

The dispute concerning the manner of the Lord's presence in the sacrament was allowed to proceed until the eleventh century, unrestrained by any voice of authority in the Church, the contending parties on both sides advancing their discordant opinions with all possible freedom, and no council interfering to give any definite sentence upon this matter, or prescribe a rule of faith to terminate all inquiry and discussion. But about the year 1050, the controversy raging with much vehemence on all sides, afforded matter of discussion to several councils which were called to settle the question, if possible. The celebrated Berenger, who occupies so prominent a place in the ecclesiastical history of the eleventh century, distinguished himself by maintaining publicly, in A.D. 1045, the doctrines of Johannes Scotus, and opposing with vehemence the monstrous opinions of Paschasius Radbert. But Berenger met with a violent and furious antagonist in Pope Leo IX. who fiercely attacked his doctrines in A.D. 1050, and in two councils held, one at Rome, the other at Vercelli, had the doc-

trine of Berenger solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus from which it was drawn committed to the flames. This however was no more a proof that the book of Scotus contained any thing unsound, than the burning of Bibles in later days by the upholders of the same doctrine is a proof that the Sacred Volume is mischievous or untrue: why should the book of Scotus be treated by such persons with more reverence, than the Holy Scriptures themselves are when found to operate to the overthrow of their false doctrines.

Johannes Scotus is not the only instance of an eminent and learned Irishman who is noticed in the Church history of the ninth century: others of our countrymen also did much about that time to distinguish themselves in literature and religion, as Dungal, for instance, who having left his own country, "retired into a French monastery, where he lived during the reigns of Charlemagne and Lewis the meek, and taught philosophy and astronomy with the greatest reputation."* But we have not time to dwell on these less important cases.

The celebrity of the Irish schools for learning continued down to the eleventh century. Of this we

* Mosheim, ut sup.

have interesting evidence in the life of Sulgen, who was bishop of St. David's about the year 1070. In a poem written by his son John, we read that Sulgen came to Ireland to study there, and spent ten or thirteen years in this country in the study of the Scriptures.

With ardent love for learning, Sulgen sought
The school in which his fathers had been taught ;
To Ireland's sacred isle he bent his way,
Where science beam'd with bright and glorious ray.
But lo ! an unforeseen impediment
His journey interrupted as he went ;
For, sailing toward the country where abode
The people famous in the Word of God,
His bark by adverse winds and tempests toss'd,
Was forced to anchor on another coast :
And thus the Albanian shore the traveller gain'd,
And there for five successive years remained.

At length arriving on the Scottish soil,
He soon applies himself to studious toil :
The Holy Scriptures now his thoughts engage,
And much he ponders o'er the oft-read page,
Exploring carefully the secret mine
Of precious treasure in the Law divine :
Till thirteen years of diligence and pains
Had made him affluent in heavenly gains,
And stored his ample mind with rich supplies
Of costly goods and sacred merchandize.
Then having gained a literary name,
In high repute for learning home he came ;
His gathered store and golden gains to share
Among admiring friends and followers there.*

* Vid. Ussher's Sylloge. Præf.

In these lines, besides the circumstance of Sulgen's coming to study in Ireland, there are two other things (as Archbishop Ussher has remarked) worthy to be noticed by us ; *First*, that although in the ninth century of Christianity, the Norwegian pirates, with Turgesius for their leader, keeping possession of this island for thirty years, destroyed by fire almost all the churches and books, yet notwithstanding this, the study of Christian literature again revived, and Ireland so late as in the eleventh century was still (as an ancient author styles it) " a workshop of men famous for learning and sanctity ;" *Secondly*, that so late as down to this period, our Irish people still retained the name of Scots, as belonging to them peculiarly. For John says in his poem, that his father had designed going to *Ireland* for the purpose of study, but that, the vessel, in which he had embarked with the intention of sailing thither, having been driven from her course by adverse winds, he had been thus brought to *Albania*, (i. e. Scotland ; see page 102,) and that after delaying there for five years, he at length arrived at the *Scottish* soil, (i. e. Ireland,) where he spent many years in the study of the sacred Scriptures.

About the year 1083 flourished the celebrated and learned Irishman, Marianus Scotus, who translated many valuable works and was the author of others. He composed notes on all the epistles of St. Paul, on the Psalms, &c., and was the author of a well known Chronicle which he brought down to his own time. He became a monk at Ratisbon in the latter part of his life ; having previously numbered among his pupils the celebrated Nicholas Breckspere, who afterwards became Pope, under the name of Adrian IV. It was this very Pope as we shall afterwards see more fully, who assisted the English in their successful effort to deprive Ireland of her independence.

At the close of this century flourished also the celebrated Irish annalist Tighernach, abbot of Clonmacnoise, a good classic scholar and well read in both Greek and Latin authors ; his annals are still extant, and published in the curious collection edited by the learned Dr. O'Connor.

Much more might be said here of the learning and schools of ancient Ireland, but enough has been advanced to put the matter in a pretty clear light, and to show that if ignorance exists on the subject,

it arises not from want of evidence of the most unimpeachable character, but from the generality of persons being for the most part ignorant of the evidence or unconcerned about it. To the many original testimonies already adduced in illustration of the point before us, it may be interesting to add here in conclusion an extract from the more modern comment of England's greatest antiquary, the learned Cambden, contemporary of Archbishop Ussher. "Our Anglo-Saxons of that day," says this eminent author, "used to flock together to Ireland, as a market of learning; whence it is that we continually find it said in our writers concerning holy men of old, *He was sent away to be educated in Ireland....* And it would appear that it was from that country the ancient English our ancestors received the first instructions in forming letters, as it is plain they used the same character which is still used in Ireland. Nor need we wonder that Ireland which is now (i.e. in A.D. 1607) for the most part wild, half-savage, and destitute of education, should at that time have abounded in men of such holiness, piety, and splendid geniuses, while the cultivation of literature elsewhere in the

Christian world lay neglected and half-buried ; since the Providence of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe is pleased to scatter the seeds of holiness and virtues in the different ages in the world, now among these nations, now among those, as it were in so many beds and flower-knots ; thus producing blossoms, which as they appear in one place and another with fresh vigour, may thrive and be preserved, for His own glory and the benefit of mankind.”*

§ 16.—STATE OF IRELAND IN THE NINTH, TENTH, AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES, DURING THE INROADS OF THE DANES.

The history of Ireland, ecclesiastical and civil in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, is chiefly remarkable for the troubles and calamities caused by the invasions of the barbarian Ostmans. In the eighth century vast numbers of the Danes, Norwegians, and other northern tribes, leaving their own inhospitable deserts, issued forth to invade and plunder the more fertile regions which lay to the south of their home. France, England, and

* Camden's Britannia. Lond. 1607. page 730.

and Scotland suffered severely from the incursions of these fierce and savage tribes ; and Ireland also was soon after overrun and infested by their cruel bands. The cities and towns throughout the island were plundered and burned by them, over and over again in many instances ; persons of every age, sex, and condition of life, became the victims of their horrid atrocities, and the Christian clergy in particular were the marked objects of their hatred and malice. In their expeditions in search of plunder all the natives who fell into their hands were put to death without mercy, and hundreds of monks and priests thus perished by their swords.

What gave peculiar facilities to the Danes for oppressing and subjugating Ireland, was the want of unity and combination among the natives which then existed. Ireland, at the time of which we speak, was divided into five petty kingdoms, styled Leinster, Ulster, Munster, Connaught, and Meath ; among the kings of these five provinces it usually was the case that one was acknowledged as supreme monarch, but there was no sufficient subordination among the different kingdoms, and as might naturally be expected, endless disorder and con-

fusion arose from encroachments made by the different princes on one another's rights; and constant war and bloodshed was the consequence. These internal contentions and disputes among themselves rendered the Irish an easy prey to foreign invaders; and when the Danes began to make their incursions upon our country, instead of uniting steadily to oppose the common foe, the provincial kings were often occupied with unhappy quarrels and dissensions among themselves.

These invasions of which we speak commenced very early in the ninth century or perhaps even before it. One of the earliest authentic notices of them is to be found in the ancient French Annals,* where we read that in A.D. 812, "the fleet of the Normans having attacked Ireland, the island of the Scots, after a battle had been fought with the Scots, and no small part of the Normans killed, returned home in disgraceful flight." The Normans here spoken of are properly, as Cambden informs us, the Norwegians and Danes. The Ostmans, he says, came from the sea coast of Germany, and having under the pretext of carrying on extensive

* *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores*. Lut. Par. 1636. vol. ii. page 24.

mercantile business, gained possession of some cities, they afterwards harrassed the country with most unmanageable wars. It is to be observed that "Ostmans" signifies "Eastern men."*

About the year 815, Turgesius, son of Harold Harfager king of Norway, with a numerous army made a descent upon the north of Ireland, and spread desolation and death in every direction ; his fleets at the same time ravaging and plundering the coasts and seaport towns of the south. The Irish, it is true, sometimes forgot their private quarrels, and uniting against the common foe, gained occasionally important advantages ; but new reinforcements appeared continually to replace the losses which the invaders thus suffered ; and at length Turgesius, having taken Dublin by storm in 838, and built forts in it and in other places, assumed to himself the supreme monarchy of Ireland, which at this time belonged of right to Melseachlin or Malachy I. Of the forts built in Ireland by the Danes at this time, the remains of some are still to be seen through the country, among the number of what are called Danish raths ; many however of the forts so called are not Danish.

* Camden's *Britannia*, as already quoted.

Under the blighting influence of the usurper Turgesius, the Christian religion was discouraged and persecuted, and every means used to efface if possible the remains of it, while its professors were obliged often to seek concealment in woods and caves of the earth. Many churches and abbeys, monasteries, colleges, and seminaries for the education of the Christian priesthood, were destroyed ; libraries, books, and ancient records were lost in the ruins which these sanguinary barbarians created ; and the buildings which had served for the worship of God were razed to the ground or perished in the flames, or were perhaps devoted to the worship of the heathen deities of the Ostmans, such as Woden, Thor, and Seater. The monastery of Iona was several times pillaged and burned, and the family of the place (as the monks were called) massacred with fire and sword : Armagh suffered especially ; its town, church, schools, and religious institutions being repeatedly invaded, plundered and burned, as in A.D. 831, three times in one month ; also in 840, 848, 852, 869, 891, and 1015 ; the primate, clergy, students, and other inhabitants, being on those several occasions either driven from

the town, taken into captivity, or massacred, as the case might be. It is recorded that on one occasion, a little before the coming of Turgesius, or soon after it, nine hundred monks belonging to the monastery of Bangor in Down were put to the sword ; and similar calamities, with their dates and occasions, are recorded as having befallen Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Lismore, Ferns, Clonfert, Slane, Kildare, Clonmacnoise, Kells, Clonard, Glendaloch, Swords, and indeed almost all the old towns and villages of Ireland ; each in its turn being made at one time or another, and many of them several times in succession, the unhappy scene of Danish barbarity and outrage.

At length about A.D. 848, the forces of Turgesius were overpowered by Malachy, and the usurper himself taken and drowned in Lough Innel in Westmeath ; on his death the power of the Danes in Ireland was very much weakened, for the natives seeng their oppressors deprived of their head, rose upon them with great vehemence, stormed many of their forts and strong holds, slaughtering such immense numbers of them, that there was scarce one left, according to some accounts, to tell the

news of their disaster ; it is more probable however that many were driven home in their ships, and others allowed to remain in the sea-port towns for the purposes of trade. The troubles however caused by the Danish invasions were far from being at an end. It is true that after the death of Turgesius no one of their leaders was able to maintain so much power as he had possessed ; nor could any other of them assert his claim to the title of king of Ireland ; their strength being afterwards less concentrated and their body having less of combination under one head. Yet still the country was infested with these marauders, and harrassed by their predatory incursions : almost immediately after the defeat of Turgesius, large and powerful armaments arrived, and the work of plunder and destruction was still carried on, no time being allowed to heal the wounds of our bleeding country. The important maritime towns of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, were seized on by the strangers, who continued to keep possession of them, and establish their colonies in them ; and various battles were fought with considerable losses on both sides, in different parts of Ireland. Such was the state of things in the tenth

century, the power of the Danes being much weakened from what it had been in the preceding century, but still their numbers being considerable in the country, and the miseries it suffered from them being abated, but not remedied.

The monarch Flan reigned in Ireland at the commencement of the tenth century. The kingdom during his reign enjoyed a degree of comparative prosperity after the disastrous calamities of former years, and something was done to repair the miseries and ruin caused by Turgesius and his followers ; the uncultivated lands began to be tilled again, Christianity dared to show its face afresh, and something of improvement was visible in the state of the Church ; for the abbeys and other ecclesiastical buildings began to rise out of their ruins, and the seminaries of learning were again opened and attended by numerous students. But the miseries which foreign invaders had inflicted upon Ireland had not yet taught her people the lesson of the necessity for union among themselves, for after all the fatal effects of former dissensions, the reign of Flan was disturbed by fresh ones. The celebrated Cormac Mac Cuillenan, king of Munster

and bishop of Cashel, (for both dignities were in him united,) was engaged, during this reign, in a lamentable civil war with the king of Leinster, who was aided by the monarch Flan. In this unhappy contest Cormac lost his life. He is described as having been a great and learned, and what is more, a good man, but was too easily led to engage in this war by the instigations of a turbulent abbot of Inniscatery, (an island in the river Shannon,) who was his principal adviser in the matter. It was this Cormac who built on the celebrated rock of Cashel the Cathedral whose beautiful ruins are still standing there; divine service having been performed in the place so late as until the last century: the ground there is said to have been fixed on by St. Patrick himself, as the site for a church. Cormac also compiled a very important book called the Royal Psalter, containing a transcript of the ancient records of his kingdom. Flahertagh or Flaherty, the abbot who had been the cause of the war and its lamentable consequences, was taken prisoner by the victorious army and was loaded with execrations for the troubles he had caused; but being released on the death of the

king of Leinster, he was allowed to return to his monastery. He seems to have been humbled by the afflictions he had caused and suffered, so that now he found comfort only in devotional and penitential exercises.

But many years had not passed, when on the death of Cormac's successor, the abbot was called from his retirement to fill the throne of Munster; which he occupied with much applause till his death. Thus one who by his evil counsel had led others astray to their destruction, became by repentance and reformation a useful and estimable member of society.*

The Danes continued to infest and afflict Ireland in the succeeding reigns, using every exertion in which secret treachery or open violence could display itself, to subjugate the Irish people, and crush their efforts to expel these piratical invaders from their lands. But as the relating of the different encounters and intrigues which were planned and put into execution by the Irish and Ostman chieftains, belongs rather to the civil than to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, I shall say as little as

* See "True Stories from the History of Ireland" by J. J. MacGregor, (our historian of the French Revolution,) which contains a useful popular epitome of the civil history of this country.

possible about such matters, and hasten on to what more properly concerns the Church of Ireland and its history.

The most formidable antagonist whom the Danes ever met with in Ireland, was the celebrated Brian Boiromhe or Boru, king of Munster; who for his valiant exertions in combating these invaders, and for his wise and excellent administration of his own dominions, was chosen supreme monarch of Ireland in place of Malachy II., at the commencement of the eleventh century; Malachy being deposed to make room for one who was looked upon as being more worthy of supreme sway. And certainly Brian was one of the greatest benefactors of Ireland that were to be found in the lists of her ancient kings. Heroic in war, and distinguished for promoting and extending the blessings of peace, he left behind him the memory of a reign spent in the service of his country, and marked with incessant and successful endeavours for the improvement and welfare of his people. Under his fostering care, religion and learning flourished throughout his dominions; the clergy were reinstated in their ecclesiastical rights; and civilization in every way

was promoted ; roads and bridges were constructed throughout the country, and the public highways put into repair. The laws of his kingdom were by his suggestion and superintendence revised and remodelled ; and administered with a spirit of impartial justice and equity that created universal satisfaction. The lands too which had been usurped by the Danes were by him restored to their original proprietors ; and the pagan foreigners were expelled from his kingdom. Christianity had however begun to make its appearance among the Danes so early as the ninth century,* and although its progress among them was slow, yet when Brian flourished, a large portion of the Danes in Ireland had embraced the Christian faith ; and such he allowed for the sake of trade and merchandize to remain in possession of the seaport towns.

Brian Boru was in his seventy-sixth year when he ascended the throne of Ireland, and for twelve years from that period he ruled over the country with great glory and prosperity, keeping a magnificent court, and receiving to his hospitality the great and learned both of his own and of foreign countries : but

* Vid. Mosheim.

in the twelfth year of his reign the veteran king was once again called to the field of battle, where his earthly career was to end in untarnished glory. The war in which he perished arose, like many great quarrels, out of a trifling matter. A dispute which took place between Malmordha Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, and Murtogh, son of Brian Boru, concerning a game of chess, led to such a fatal result. Malmordha vehemently inflamed with passion and thirsting for revenge, organized a confederacy with all the Danes throughout Ireland, and also induced the king of Denmark to send over a fresh reinforcement of twelve thousand men; with whom, assisted by the states of Leinster, he proclaimed war against the brave Brian. The latter monarch, although now in his eighty-eighth year, hesitated not to take the field once more against his old enemies, in defence of his country and his crown: and entering Leinster in April A.D. 1014, at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, he joined his forces with those of the deposed monarch, into whose place he had succeeded. The two armies met in the plains of Clontarf, within two miles of the city of Dublin; and on Good Friday, April 23, a sanguinary, furious, and long-

continued battle was fought between them: in the course of which, Malachy treacherously retired from the field with the forces of Meath. The fight continued from eight in the morning until four in the afternoon, when the Danes, no longer able to sustain the impetuosity of the Irish troops, fled and fell in every direction. Multitudes of the Irish princes and nobles were slain on that day, and among them the valiant and worthy Brian. But the Danes were totally defeated and overthrown, and their power in Ireland received a decisive blow, from which they never were able to recover. Prince Murtoagh, the son of Brian Boru, and Malmordha with whom the war had originated, were also among the slain. We must not however suppose that the Danish troubles of Ireland ended with the battle of Clontarf; on the contrary we read of Armagh, Swords, Clonard, and other towns being plundered by them in the very next year; and the same kind of depredations were continued by them more or less during the remaining part of the eleventh century.

* Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters. Colgan, Acta SS.

§ 17.—OSTMAN INFLUENCE IN THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, AND HOW IT HELPED TO INTRODUCE ROMANISM.

The first circumstance which afforded to the Roman Church an opportunity of obtaining a footing in England, was, as we have seen, the conquest of that country by the Pagan Saxons. Somewhat similar was the occasion of the first establishment of Romanism in Ireland; for the introduction of that form of Christianity into our country appears when traced to its source to have been closely connected with the influence of the Danes or Ostmans who settled here somewhat before its arrival. It was through England that Ireland first became connected with the Roman Church and subject to the authority of the Pope; and the first intimate intercourse which existed between any Irish Christians and the English Church, was carried on between the Ostman bishops of Ireland and the archbishops of Canterbury. It has been already said that the towns of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, were in the eleventh century in possession of these Ostmans: now, they being, as Arch-

bishop Ussher has it,* “ a colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the Conqueror, and Normans advanced to the chief archbishopric there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the archbishop of Canterbury. And forasmuch as they were confined within the walls of their own cities, the bishops which they made had no other diocese to exercise their jurisdiction in, but only the bare circuit of those cities ; whereupon we find a certificate made unto Pope Innocent III., in the year 1216, by the archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans, that ‘John Papiron, the legate of the Church of Rome, coming into Ireland, found that Dublin indeed had a bishop, but such an one as did exercise his episcopal office within the walls only.’

“ The first bishop which they had in Dublin, as it appeareth by the records of that Church, was one Donatus, (or Dunanus, as others call him,) upon whose death in the year 1074, Gothric their king,

* Religion of A. I. chap. viii.

with the consent of the clergy and people of Dublin, chose one Patrick for their bishop, and directed him into England to be consecrated by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him back with commendatory letters, as well to the said Gothric, king of the Ostmans, as to Terdeluachus, (or Tirlogh) the chief king or monarch of the Irish.

“ Hereupon, after the decease of this Patrick, in the year 1085, the same Terdeluachus, and the bishops of Ireland, joined with the clergy and people of Dublin in the election of Donatus, one of Lanfranc’s own monks in Canterbury, who was by him there also consecrated.

“ Then when he died, in the year 1095, his nephew Samuel, a monk of St. Albans, but born in Ireland, was chosen bishop in his place, by Murierdach king of Ireland, and the clergy and people of the city, by whose common decree he was sent unto Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, for his consecration.

“ Not long after, the Waterfordians, following the example of the Dublinians, erected a bishopric among themselves, and sent their new bishop to Canterbury for his consecration; the manner of

whose election the clergy and people of Waterford, in the letters which they wrote at that time unto Anselm, do thus intimate—‘ We and our king Murchertach and Dofnald the bishop, and Dermeth our captain, the king’s brother, have made a choice of this priest, Malchus, a monk of Walkeline, bishop of Winchester.’ ”

The last bishop of Dublin, in the year 1122, was sent unto Anselm’s next successor for his consecration: the writ of King Henry I. to the archbishop of Canterbury on that occasion ran as follows :—“ ‘ Henry, king of England, to Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, greeting: The king of Ireland hath signified to me by his writ, and the burgesses of Dublin, that they have chosen this Gregory for their bishop, and send him unto you to be consecrated. Wherefore I wish you in compliance with their request, to perform his consecration without delay. Witness, Ranulph, our Chancellor at Windsor.’ ”

“ All the burgesses of Dublin likewise, and the whole assembly of the clergy, directed their joint letters to the archbishop of Canterbury at the same time, wherein, among other things, they write

thus— ‘ Know you for verity that the bishops of Ireland have great indignation toward us, and that bishop most of all that dwelleth at Armagh, because we will not obey their ordination, but will always be under your government.’ Whereby we may see, that as the Ostmans were desirous to sever themselves from the Irish, and to be esteemed Normans rather, so the Irish bishops on the other side, howsoever they digested in some sort the recourse which they had to Lanfranc and Anselm, who were two of the most famous men in their times, and with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good correspondence, yet could they not well brook this continuation of their dependence upon a metropolitan of another kingdom, which they conceived to be somewhat derogatory to the dignity of their own primate. But this jealousy continued not long; for this same Gregory being afterwards made archbishop of Dublin, and the bishoprics here settled by Johannes Paparo, as well they of Dublin, as the others of Waterford and Limerick, (for they also had one Patrick consecrated bishop unto them by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury,) did ever after that time cease to

have any relation unto the see of Canterbury.”*

But the indirect communication between the Church of Rome and that of Ireland through Canterbury did not cease until a more direct one had been established, by means of papal legates who began now to exercise their functions in our country, which had been heretofore free from their officious interference. And the very first of these who is said to have acted as pope's legate throughout all Ireland, was Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, one of the three cities already mentioned as keeping up an intimate correspondence and connexion, (even during the independence of the Irish Church,) with the Church of England, or what was then pretty nearly the same, with the Church of Rome, in whose communion the English Church was at that time included. Of this Gilbert and his endeavours to bring the Church of Ireland to conformity with that of Rome in her offices, we shall have to speak again presently.

* Religion of A. I. chap. viii.

§ 18.—FIRST BEGINNINGS OF ROMISH POWER IN IRELAND—INVASION OF IRELAND BY THE ENGLISH PROPOSED—BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV.

There were many eminent saints to be found in Ireland in her ancient days, from the time of St. Patrick to the twelfth century; (so many indeed that it received in those ages, as we have seen, the title of the Isle of Saints;) and yet numberless and famous as was their company, they owed no debt of gratitude for their saintly dignity to the decrees of the Church of Rome; for we cannot discover that any of them received cannonization from the pope before Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, and Laurence of Dublin, who lived in the twelfth century. Indeed it was not until the tenth century that any pope assumed to himself the power of nominating saints by his own sole authority; the first person upon whom the honour was thus conferred being Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, who was canonized by Pope John XV., in the year 993.

So also “ we read of sundry archbishops that have been in this land between the days of St.

Patrick and of Malachy ; what one of them can be named that ever sought for a pall from Rome ?”* Indeed we are distinctly told by the ancient Romish historians, that the first palls that ever came into Ireland were brought hither in the year 1151 by John Papiro, legate of Pope Eugenius. It should be mentioned for the sake of those who are unacquainted with the word, that a pall is part of the ecclesiastical dress of a Roman Catholic archbishop, which is sent from the pope to the person newly appointed to that dignity ; and until he receives it he cannot lawfully perform all the duties connected with his sacred office. Our archbishops in Ireland had never used this sign of the pope’s authority or license, until the time of Malachy, who was the first to adopt such a mark of submission to the bishop of Rome. The pall had been sent so early as in the seventh century to the Roman archbishop of the Anglo-Saxon Church ; and from one of Pope Gregory’s letters to Augustine, given in Bede’s History, the use of such an ornament would appear to have been even still more ancient.

* Religion of A. I. chap. viii.

Thus the first exercise of the pope's authority in confirming archbishops in this country was exhibited through Cardinal Papiro in A.D. 1151, who in that year conferred palls with the papal sanction on the four archbishoprics of Ireland; namely, Dublin and Tuam, then newly appointed; Cashel, which had been made an archbishop's see a little before, by Celsus, who preceded Malachy in the see of Armagh; and Armagh itself, which from the days of St. Patrick had been reckoned the metropolitan church of Ireland.

And the first saints among the Irish who were received as such by authority of the pope, were Malachy, archbishop of Armagh, and Laurence of Dublin, who lived in the twelfth century.

And the first pope's legate that we read of as having exercised that office in all Ireland, was Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, sent to us in that capacity about A.D. 1139.

And the first primate of Ireland who was appointed by the pope, was Egan Mac Gillivider, nominated by him in 1202, but resisted by King John, who little relished such an interference with his authority. The venal king was however after-

wards induced by a bribe to confirm in 1206, the appointment of Mac Gillivider.

And the first council in Ireland which decreed that the rights and ceremonies of the Irish Church should be ordered so as to agree with those of the Church of Rome, was the celebrated and lamentable, but now too much forgotten, council of Cashel, held in A.D. 1172.

Before giving an account of this very important synod, it will be necessary to introduce a very short outline of some of the previous circumstances connected with it, such as the coming of the the English to invade Ireland, and the issuing of the papal bulls which sanctioned their invasion, and confirmed them in the possession of the acquisitions which they had gained by their arms.

Down to the time of King Henry II. the English had not acquired any settled or permanent dominion in Ireland. It is true that our island had felt the power of English arms long before, since Bede tells us* that in A.D. 684, Egfrid king of Northumberland sent over an army to ravage the country, which made cruel havoc among the Irish,—“ an innocent

* Hist. Ec. iv. 26.

race of men that had ever been most friendly to the English;”—or as William of Malmesbury calls them in describing this transaction—“the Irish, an innocent people, of genuine simplicity, who never thought of contriving any mischief.”* At a later period, Edgar, another English king, had occupied a large part of Ireland, including the city of Dublin.† These invasions however were but temporary and not undertaken apparently with any hope of subjugating the entire island. In such early times indeed, the strength of the English was not sufficiently united for such a work; domestic troubles had weakened their power too much to allow them to think of foreign conquests; and the Picts and Scots, the Saxons and Danes had kept them busy in their own country, and afforded them sufficient exercise for their arms; nor was it till the kingdom became consolidated and settled under the Norman princes, but it acquired sufficient strength to encourage the hope of gaining a wider sway, and extending its dominion over other lands.

Henry II., succeeding to the crown in A.D. 1154, was the first king of England who seems to have

* De Gest. Reg. Angl. Lib. i. † Cambden's Britannia. p. 731.

conceived the idea of adding Ireland to his realm. In order to execute his plans with the better effect, he applied to the reigning pope, Adrian IV., requesting him to sanction by his authority the proposed invasion of our country. He represented to him that the Irish were an ignorant and barbarous people, whose country abounded with nurseries of iniquity, and that it was his anxious wish to bring them within the pale of the Catholic church, and to instruct them in the Christian faith ; and on condition of receiving the desired sanction from the pope he made an agreement that he would pay a yearly tribute into his treasury, of a penny for every house in the conquered territory ; all this is stated in the bull which Pope Adrian sent in reply to Henry's application. The same bull informs us of the grounds on which his holiness assumed the right of bestowing upon Henry a title to Ireland, in the following passage—"Certainly there is no doubt, but that Ireland and all the islands on which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, and which have received instruction in the Christian faith, do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church."* It was asserted that the

* See Appendix.

title to the possession of all Christian islands was granted to the pope of Rome by the emperor Constantine, who as head of the Roman empire governed in A.D. 325, the greater part of the then known world. But the document called the grant of Constantine is now admitted by Romanists themselves, to be a "notorious forgery," (Ussher) and even if it were not, it gives the pope no more authority over islands than over the whole continent, nor is it certain that Constantine himself had ever any interest in the kingdom of Ireland.

However Pope Adrian had more reasons than one for complying with Henry's request, and therefore it was needful for him to bolster up some claim that might justify him in disposing of what was not his own, and for want of a better the forged grant of Constantine served very well for the time.

Adrian was himself an Englishman; hence one motive for his gratifying King Henry was a love to his native country, (as Cardinal Pole stated in a speech before parliament, A.D. 1554, under Queen Mary:) this made him willingly accede to a request, the tendency of which was to add to the power and dominion of England.

Another obvious motive which influenced him, was a desire to extend the supremacy of the Roman see, and to confirm and establish the rising influence and power of that see in Ireland. The issuing of a bull to the Irish bishops, commanding them to receive King Henry for their lord, was a very suitable continuation of the beginning already made in the distribution of the palls.

And in addition to these motives there was another which strongly influenced Adrian to sanction King Henry's undertaking. John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres, a most dear and intimate friend of his, was also a faithful adherent of the English monarch; and therefore using in favour of the latter, the great influence which he possessed with Pope Adrian, he prevailed upon him to grant the desired permission for invading Ireland. John of Salisbury was an eminent writer, and in one of his works published about the time of Adrian's death, he mentions the circumstance here recorded. At the close of the work alluded to, he breaks out into pathetic lamentations for the loss which, in his opinion, the world had just sustained by the decease of the supreme pontiff, and describes at the same time the intimate

friendship that had existed between himself and Adrian; "for although," says he, "Pope Adrian had a mother, and brother of his own, he loved me with more tender affection than he did them; he used to confess both in public and in private that he valued me beyond all men; such an opinion had he formed of me, that he would take pleasure in unburdening his conscience in my presence, whensoever occasion presented itself; and when he was pope of Rome, it used to be his delight to have me for guest at his own table, where he would desire, nay compel me, to use the same cup and dish with himself, however I might decline the honor. It was at my request too that he granted and gave Ireland to the illustrious King Henry of England, to be kept in possession by hereditary right, as his letters testify to this day . . . He sent over with me likewise a gold ring, set with an emerald of the choicest description, as a symbol of investiture, for conveying to the prince the right of governing Ireland; and the said ring has hitherto been ordered to be kept in the archives among the public records of the court."*

* *Johannis Sarisberiensis Metalogicus, Lib. iv. cap. ult.*

Adrian therefore, for the different reasons here mentioned, readily granted Henry's request, and sent him a commission to seize the island which he coveted ; ordering its people to receive him with all respect and honour, and to reverence him as their lord. The transaction is recorded by the eminent Romish writers of the succeeding age, in the following terms—"About the same time, Henry, king of England, sending solemn ambassadors to Rome, requested of Adrian, (who had been recently made pope, and whose favour he confidently hoped to obtain, as being an Englishman,) that he would license his entering Ireland in a hostile manner, and allow him to subdue that country, and bring back its beastly inhabitants to holding the faith of Christ in a more seemly manner, and induce them to become more dutiful children of the Church of Rome, exterminating the nurseries of iniquity that were to be found in the country. Which request the pope graciously complied with, and sent to the monarch the following letter granting the sanction desired." Then follows in the original, the bull above mentioned. "King Henry therefore, towards Michaelmas [of this same

year 1155,) held a parliament in Winchester, in which he treated with his nobles concerning the conquest of Ireland. But because the thing was opposed to the wishes of his mother the empress, [Maude,] that expedition was put off till another time.”*

The conduct of Pope Adrian in reference to these proceedings has been severely censured even by Roman Catholic writers; and Dr. Lanigan in particular uses very strong language in condemnation of the way in which this pontiff was induced to hand over our island to the tender mercies of the English invader.

§ 19.—BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III.—ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH.—SYNOD OF CASHEL SUMMONED BY AUTHORITY OF KING HENRY II.

Pope Alexander III., who succeeded to Adrian in A.D. 1159, confirmed in another bull addressed to King Henry, the grant made by his predecessor.†

* Mathew of Westminster, Mathew Paris, Nicholas Trivet, &c., quoted in Ussher's Sylloge, No. 46, notes.

† Ussher's Sylloge No. 47.

And further, he granted to King Henry, license to make whichever of his sons he should please, king of Ireland ; and to crown him as such, whereupon the English monarch in 1177, constituted his son John king of the island, in presence of the bishops and peers of his kingdom ; which was approved and confirmed by Pope Alexander, and afterwards, in 1186, by Pope Urban, who sent over two legates into Ireland “ to crown John, the king’s son, there.”*

After having obtained from Pope Adrian the first mentioned Bull in A.D. 1155, Henry was not able for a long time to take advantage of the permission which it gave him to invade, occupy, and rule over Ireland. Independently of his mother’s opposition to the project, other things also tended to divert his attention from it ; troubles demanding more immediate attention, required all his care ; a war with France, and harrassing disputes with Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, sufficiently engrossed his thoughts ; and he might have deferred even longer still his Irish expedition, or neglected it altogether, but that it was in a manner

* Religion of A. I. chap. xi.

forced upon his attention again, under the following circumstances.

After the battle of Clontarf, Ireland continued to be much distracted by civil war and rival claimants of the supreme monarchy, until A.D. 1166, when Roderic O'Connor, who is usually reckoned the last king of Ireland, was left in possession of it. Dermot Mac Murchard (or Mac Murrough) was at this time king of Leinster; a violent and tyrannical prince, of great stature and powerful strength of body, and ready for any act of lawless violence. In A.D. 1154, Dermot led an army into the territory of O'Ruarc, prince of Breifny, a supporter of the O'Connor family, and having seized on the person of his wife, for whom he entertained an unhallowed love, he drove O'Ruarc himself from his dominions. O'Ruarc on this complained to Turlogh O'Connor, the reigning monarch, who took vengeance by rescuing the princess of Breifny, and spreading devastation through Leinster. Continual warfare was carried on for many years between Dermot and O'Ruarc; until Roderic O'Connor succeeding to the crown of Ireland, commenced such vigorous measures against Dermot, as forced him

to flee from his kingdom and seek for foreign succours.

Thus fallen and degraded, but still thirsting for revenge, Dermot applied to Henry II., then in France, beseeching him to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom, and promising to hold it thenceforth, if restored, as Henry's vassal. The English king was however too much occupied with his own affairs at that time, to do in person as Dermot wished; but seeing how important an occasion was thus offered him of gaining a footing for his power in Ireland, he received Dermot most graciously, and entering altogether into his plans, dismissed him with a letter addressed to his own subjects in England, in which he encouraged them by all means to assist the king of Leinster in his endeavours.

After a little delay Dermot found in England persons willing to take up his cause, and aid his arms on satisfactory terms; and much cheered by the success of his expedition, he returned to make preparations for the reception of the invaders whom he had invited into his native country.

It is impossible here to give anything approach-

ing to a detailed account, or even an epitome of the movements and military proceedings of Dermot and his new allies ; it must suffice to mention that in May, 1170, Robert FitzStephen, with Hervey of Mountmorres, and other associates, and a small equipment of soldiers, arrived from Wales, in Wexford. The day following Prendergast arrived with additional troops ; and shortly after, Maurice Fitzgerald, a valiant knight, maternal brother to FitzStephen brought with him further supplies. In May, 1171, the brave and celebrated Raymond Le Gros, a kinsman of the last two, landed near Waterford with a small additional reinforcement. All the troops that had as yet arrived did not amount to one thousand men ; yet they had met with wonderful success on the whole ; they had been able to restore Dermot to his throne and to set at nought the opposition of the supreme monarch.

Earl Strongbow “ the principal invader of Ireland ” arrived next, and joining his small armament with that of Raymond, they attacked and took possession of Waterford. The confederates after this marched against Dublin and took it. Other advantages were subsequently gained by them, and

their power continued to progress and extend itself, though not without occasional reverses of fortune ; but the prowess and valour which they exhibited under difficulties, and the energy with which they recovered from them, only made their fame greater, and their arms more terrible.

At length King Henry himself set out for Ireland and embarking at Pembroke in Wales, he arrived in Waterford on the 19th of October 1171. In consequence of the proceedings of the English and Irish confederates, and of certain members of his own household whom he had sent before him to prepare matters for his arrival, he was received in Waterford with much pomp, and unusual exhibitions of joy, by Strongbow and his associates, and also by many of the Irish princes who came to do him homage. The clergy were conspicuous for the warmth with which, in dutiful obedience to the papal bulls, they hailed and embraced the enemy of their country's independence. Roger Hoveden, a valuable writer of those times, (and of the communion of Rome,) tells us that at Waterford, " all the archbishops, bishops, abbots of all Ireland, came to the king of England, and received him for king

and lord of Ireland ; swearing fealty to him and his heirs, and the power of reigning over them for ever ; and then they gave him their instruments. And after the example set them by the clergy, the aforesaid kings and princes of Ireland” (namely, the kings of Cork, Limerick, Ossory, Meath, and Reginald of Waterford, who had been summoned by King Henry’s command to appear in his presence, and almost all the nobles of Ireland, except the king of Connaught, who claimed to be lord of the entire island ; all these) “ did in like manner receive Henry, king of England, for lord and king of Ireland, and they became his men, and swore fealty to him and his heirs against all men.”*

The next passage in Hoveden’s history contains a list of the four archbishops and twenty-nine bishops then existing in Ireland ; and goes on to say that “ all these as well archbishops as bishops, received Henry, king of England, and his heirs, for their kings and lords for ever, which they also confirmed by their written instruments.” In the synod of bishops at Waterford, the bulls of Adrian and Alexander were read with the approbation of all

* Rog. Hoved. annal. ad an. 1171.

there present.* Thus was the national independence of Ireland betrayed by her unworthy children, and a stranger received for king and lord. The monarch Roderic O'Connor alone refused to submit ; but unaided by his countrymen, and unpossessed of the spirit and energy which his circumstances required, what could his efforts avail ? He was at length obliged in A.D. 1175, to make a treaty of peace with Henry, by means of certain eminent ecclesiastics, whom he deputed to attend for this purpose a council held by Henry at Windsor in that year.

But although the bishops and chieftains of Ireland had thus submitted to King Henry and become his subjects, the Church was as yet independent, and retained its ancient usages and peculiar distinctions ; so that its rights and ceremonies differed in many respects from the rituals of England and Rome. Henry therefore had not yet fulfilled the obligation which he lay under to the pope, to bring Ireland within the borders of the Church, that is, to reduce the ancient Church of this country into uniformity of doctrine and practice with the Church of Rome ; and so help to

* Girald. Cambr. Hib. Expug. par. 2. cap. vi.

make the ecclesiastical rulers of Ireland become faithful subjects of the pope.

To effect the object in view it was necessary to summon a council of the Church, which Henry accordingly did, giving orders that the clergy should assemble at Cashel to make laws for the better regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. Cashel seems to have been selected as the ecclesiastical metropolis of the south of Ireland; as the English had not yet sufficient power in Ulster to encourage them to attempt holding a council at Armagh, the chief archbishopric of Ireland; and it is even said that a synod was held in Ulster in opposition to that of Cashel, by command of King Roderic: this however is not certain, and there are good testimonies which contradict it.

Henry sent off Nicholas his chaplain, and Ralph archdeacon of Llandaff, with the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, to attend the synod of Cashel. Three of the Irish archbishops and most of the bishops were present; age and infirmities hindered the primate Gelasius from attending, but he afterwards came to Dublin and ratified there the acts passed at this council.*

* Ib. par. 1. cap. xxxiv.

§ 20.—OF ST. MALACHY, BEFORE HE BECAME
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND OF THE STATE
OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND IN HIS TIME.

Before advancing farther with the history of this period, it will be useful for us here to retrace our steps a little, and contemplate for a moment the state of Church affairs in Ireland in the age immediately preceding the synod of Cashel. The most interesting and authentic historical record of that time relating to Irish affairs, which has come down to us, is the life of Malachy archbishop of Armagh, written by the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval, who was Malachy's most intimate friend. St. Malachy was himself one of the most active promoters of the influence of the Church of Rome in Ireland, and a most effectual instrument for introducing her authority among us. He appears to have been a man of the greatest piety, energy, and devotedness to the work of his ministry, but by no means free from the antiscip-
tural superstitions of those times. His life by St. Bernard is so full of interesting information connected with the state of the Church of Ireland in the twelfth century and previously, that we shall

have occasion to make copious extracts from it in the following pages.

St. Bernard commences his work by giving an account of the childhood and youth of Malachy. "Our friend Malachy," says he, "born in Ireland among the barbarous people of that land, was there brought up, and there received his education. But from the barbarian soil that gave him birth he derived no more of his nature, than the fishes of the sea derive from their native brine. How delightful to think that a wild and barbarous land should have given birth to one so worthy a fellow-citizen of the saints, and of the household of God! He that can bring forth honey from the rock, and oil from the flinty stone, it was He who brought this to pass."*

In his childhood Malachy exhibited the marks of a pious and amiable disposition: and being instructed with most religious care by his devout mother, he paid such attention to her teaching, and made such progress under it, as well rewarded all her pains and anxiety; so that while "he learned his ordinary lessons for school, he was taught at home

* Vit. Mal. cap. 1.

the fear of the Lord." At length, as his youth advanced, turning now his thoughts more entirely to sacred and ecclesiastical studies, he became a pupil of an eminent and holy teacher at Armagh, named Imar.*

For his singular diligence, piety, and zeal, he was ordained deacon and priest before the regular canonical time; nor was this all, for Celsus who was then archbishop of Armagh, honoured him further by entrusting to him a vicarial authority for regulating the affairs of that diocese. In this new character of vicar to the primate, Malachy at once set to work with renewed diligence to reform in his own way the state of the Church under his care, discountenancing vice and irregularity in every form, "banishing barbarian rites, introducing Church ones, and abolishing all the old superstitions, of which there was no small number to be found in the country."† "Further he busied himself in establishing in all the churches the apostolical constitutions, and the decrees of the holy fathers, and especially the customs of the holy Church of Rome; and hence it is that at this day," (i.e. about

* Vit. Mal. cap. 2. † Ib. cap. 3.

A.D. 1150, when Bernard wrote,) “ there is chanting and singing in those churches at the canonical hours, according to the manner of the whole earth, for heretofore this was not done even in the city itself: [i.e. Armagh:] but he [i.e. Malachy] had learned singing in his youth, and shortly after had introduced it into his own monastery, when as yet, as well in the city as in the whole bishopric, they either knew not or would not sing. Besides, Malachy restored the most salutary practice of Confession, the Sacrament of Confirmation, the marriage contract, all of which the people either were unacquainted with, or neglected.”* Such are Bernard’s words: as far however as they apply to marriage, they cannot be taken for literally true, since it is certain that this holy ordinance had been well known to the Irish in the earliest times, as would appear from the canons ascribed to St. Patrick, if there were no other proof of the circumstance. Bernard therefore can only mean that their practices with regard to it were at variance with the canon law of the Church of Rome at that time, or else that irregularities were tolerated.

* Vit. Mal. cap. viii.

Malachy however in the midst of his zeal became uneasy, lest he should unwittingly offend in doctrine or practice against any established law of the Church : in order therefore to be rightly informed as to such particulars, he sought instruction from one who was considered well capable of supplying him with such knowledge, as Bernard informs us in the following words—"It therefore occurred to him to go to Bishop Malchus to be more fully informed of all these particulars. The latter was an aged man full of days and of virtues, and the wisdom of God was in him : an Irishman indeed as to his country, but who had lived in England in the habit and profession of a monk, in the monastery of Winchester ; from which he was promoted to be bishop in the city of Lismore in Munster : it is a capital of that kingdom."* This Malchus is the same person who has been already mentioned as having been appointed bishop for the people of Waterford.†

While Malachy remained with Bishop Malchus, the king of Munster, whose name was Cormac, was driven from his throne by a cousin of his, in consequence of which he came and sought refuge

* Vit. Mal. cap. i. † Religion of A. I., chap. viii.

with Malchus, and became a monk of his community, under the special charge of Malachy ; afterwards however he was again restored to his throne. Meanwhile a close intimacy and friendship had been formed between Malachy and Cormac, while they were both engaged in the exercises of religious retirement, under the guidance of Malchus. Bernard attributes this circumstance to a providential arrangement, the tendency of which was to increase Malachy's influence and power of doing good.

After Malachy's return from Lismore to Armagh, the next step in his promotion was his advancement to the bishopric of Connor, an exaltation which his humility long refused, until he was forced to accept it by the urgent persuasions of his master Imar, and Archbishop Celsus. The state in which he found his diocese, Bernard describes as follows :—

“About the thirtieth year of his age, Malachy having been consecrated bishop, is introduced to Connor, for this was the name of the town. But as soon as he had commenced acting in his new office, then it was that this man of God knew that it was not men, but beasts, he had to deal with. No where yet had he met with the like in the most

savage place; no where had he found people so profligate in their morals, so ungodly in their faith, barbarous as to their laws, stiffnecked against discipline, filthy in their lives, Christians in name, in reality Pagans. They did not pay tithes, nor first-fruits, nor keep to lawful wedlock, nor go to confession; absolutely there could not be found one either to impose a penance, or submit to it. There were very few ministers of the altar. But to be sure, what need of more, when even those few were almost entirely idle, without any thing to do among the laity? They had no opportunity of gaining the fruit of their services among such a profligate people. No voice of preacher or chanter was heard in the churches. What then was the soldier of the Lord to do? He must either retreat in disgrace, or else engage in a perilous combat.”*

Malachy chose the latter alternative, and although according to St. Bernard's account, he found “all” his flock to be “wolves, and no sheep among them,” he did not despair, but set himself to work and use every possible endeavour to turn the wolves into sheep. Admonitions and threats to the careless in

* Vit. Mal. cap. viii.

the daytime, and tears and prayers in their behalf, continued all night ; personal addresses in the streets and villages to such as would not come to church, and visits on foot to the country parts and towns, “to seek out persons to bring to Christ,” together with patient enduring of all the curses and illtreatment which he encountered in such labours, could not fail to produce an effect on the people, which, in Bernard’s way of describing matters, is thus related :—

“The barbarian laws are abolished, those of Rome are introduced ; the customs of the Church are adopted every where, and the opposite rejected ; the temples are rebuilt and clergy ordained in them. The solemn rites of the sacraments are duly celebrated, confessions are attended to, the people crowd to church, the marriage ceremony gives its sanction to the intercourse of the sexes ; in fine every thing is so much changed for the better, that at this day we may well apply to that nation what the Lord saith by his prophet, *They who before were not my people, are my people now.*”

But Malachy’s labours were interrupted here by civil war. A prince of the north of Ireland

invading that part of the country, attacked and destroyed the town of Connor; in consequence of which, its bishop had to seek for safety in flight, and to retire to the south of Ireland. The place he came to was called Ibrach, and it was situated in the kingdom of Cormac, the monarch who had formerly (when driven from his throne) been Malachy's companion at Lismore: Cormac was delighted to see his friend once more, and hospitably supplied him and the brethren who accompanied him, with abundance of all necessities. Ibrach is supposed to be the same with the place now called Iveragh, a barony of Kerry.

About this time it came to pass that the primate Celsus fell sick, and knowing that his end was near, "he made a sort of will by which Malachy was nominated for his successor, as no one else appeared to be more worthy of filling the principal see of Ireland. This appointment Celsus announced to those who were present with him, enjoined upon such as were absent; this he gave in charge, by the authority of St. Patrick, specially to the two kings of Munster, and to the princes of the land." It is to be observed that there is not a word said

of his consulting the pope in this matter, the sanction of the latter to such appointments not being then recognised in Ireland. Very strange irregularities had however, according to St. Bernard, taken place in the succession to the see of Armagh before this time, which he describes as follows:—

“But however, a scandalous custom had been introduced by the diabolical ambition of certain of the nobles, that the holy see (i. e. Armagh) should be obtained by hereditary succession. For they allowed no one to be promoted to the bishopric, unless such as were of their own tribe and family; nor was it for any short period this execrable succession had continued, as nearly fifteen generations had already passed away in this villainy. And so firmly had this wicked and adulterous generation established their unholy right, (or wrong rather, that deserved to be punished with any sort of death,) that although clergymen of their blood were not to be found among them on some occasions, yet bishops they never were without. In fine, there had been already before the time of Celsus, eight individuals who were married, and without orders, yet still men of education. Hence arose all that neglect of

church discipline throughout the entire of Ireland, which we have already mentioned; hence that relaxation of censures, and wasting away of religion; hence too that wild savage spirit that had stolen into the place of Christian meekness, nay a sort of Paganism introduced under the Christian name. For (what was unheard of since the very origin of Christianity) with utter disregard of order or cause, bishops were changed at the will of the metropolitan, so that one bishopric was not content with a single bishop, but almost every church must have a bishop of its own; and no wonder, for how could the limbs of so diseased a head be healthy?"*

Such was the state of things in Ireland in the twelfth century, as described by one of the most eminent and esteemed writers of the Church of Rome, who lived in the very times of which he wrote. How different from what our poor countrymen are taught to believe concerning our Church affairs before the Reformation. See how Bernard abuses our ancient forefathers! How strong and violent his expressions, so long as he deals in general terms! But when we come to particulars,

* Vit. Mal. cap. x.

expecting to hear of thefts, murders, adulteries, parricides, and all sorts of abominable crimes, instead of this, some of the principal things dwelt on by Bernard, are canonical irregularities in marriage, neglect of the confessional and penance, married clergy, non-payment of tithes and first-fruits, and general disrespect for the sacraments, customs, and authority of the Church of Rome.

§ 21.—OF THE ACTS OF ST. MALACHY, SUBSEQUENTLY TO HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ARMAGH.

Archbishop Celsus* reflecting on the scandalous manner in which the see of Armagh had been made family property for so long a time, was of opinion that there could be no better remedy devised for this evil, than the appointment to the primacy of one so generally influential and beloved as Malachy. He therefore nominated him in the manner already mentioned. One of the old family however, named Maurice, seized on the bishopric,

* The original Irish name answers to Kelly, Latinized into Celsus.

and held it for five years "with the aid of the secular power." Malachy's friends were however, very anxious that he should undertake the office according to the decree of Celsus ; and two of them in particular were extremely urgent in endeavouring to persuade him to this step, namely, " Malchus and Gilbert, of whom the former is the same venerable personage of Lismore, whom we have already mentioned ; the other the person who they say was the first to exercise the office of legate to the apostolic see in all Ireland."*

Malachy's retiring disposition however made him resist the importunities of his friends for three years, till at length a meeting of the bishops and princes having been summoned to consider the matter, they forced him with threats to accept the proposed dignity. Even after this however he did not attempt to enter Armagh during the remaining two years of Maurice's life, lest by doing so he should cause any bloodshed or death among those to whom he came to minister life ; but in the country parts of the province he diligently employed himself in the duties of his episcopal office.

* Vit. Mal. cap. x.

On the death of Maurice, another named Nigellus, or Niall) one of the old race, appointed by him as his heir, succeeded in the usurpation. “ But the king and bishops and faithful of the land ” assembled to (introduce Malachy in Armagh. Opposition and conspiracies were used by the other party to frustrate this endeavour, but they were defeated; miraculously, according to Bernard : Nigellus in consequence had to flee from the place, his party sadly lamenting these proceedings, and complaining that they were robbed of their inheritance. Malachy meanwhile with persevering diligence attended to the administration of the affairs of his bishopric, not indeed without constant danger from secret plots; no one however dared openly to hurt him; but at length Nigellus was obliged to submit, and live in quiet acquiescence with a state of things which he had endeavoured in vain to avert.

Malachy when forced to accept the archbishopric, had done so with an understanding that in case order and peace were restored to the Church, he should be allowed again to resign the high office entrusted to him; and the desirable object which he had looked forward to, having been attained in

the space of three years, he then thought of fulfilling his purpose; and “seeing that all things were now in peace, he began to think of peace for himself;” and accordingly “substituted in his own place, Gelasius, a good man, and one worthy of such an honour, the clergy and people consenting to the appointment.” He himself now retired again, in A.D. 1137, to the scene of his former labours; but not exactly to Connor; for this reason, that that diocese included two ancient episcopal sees, having had formerly two bishops; and Malachy thought it better to divide the two parishes, (so were the bishoprics sometimes named in those days,) “which ambition had joined into one. And as he had already ordained a bishop for Connor, leaving him part of the diocese, he retained the remaining part for himself, and took up his residence at Down.”

Malachy in this new situation, manifested his usual diligence and zeal in arranging and ordering ecclesiastical affairs. “It appeared to him however,” says Bernard, “that it was scarce safe to carry on such proceedings, without the authority of the apostolic see, and he therefore forms the intention of setting out for Rome; and especially

because the metropolitan see [i.e. Armagh] was, and from the very first had been, without the pall, an article which is the highest badge of honour; and it appeared to him that it would be a good thing if the church for which he had laboured so much, could by his exertion and pains, obtain this ornament which it had never had before. There was likewise another metropolitan see which Celsus had recently established, subordinate however to that first see and its archbishop as primate. For this too Malachy was hoping to obtain a pall, and also to procure the confirmation of the apostolic see, for the privilege which by favour of Celsus, it had attained to. When this intention became known, it displeased his brethren, and also the princes and people of the land; for they were all afraid, that so long an absence of him whom they all looked upon as a father, would be an insupportable trial; and besides they were apprehensive of his death." So says Bernard. Perhaps a further reason why they disliked this mission to Rome, was, that they had no relish for introducing any Roman influence or authority among themselves generally, and that they did not much care for the ornament which Malachy had thus set his heart upon.

Malachy however was resolved on this journey, and so, notwithstanding all opposition, away he went, in A.D. 1139, to visit Rome: there he was very kindly received by Innocent II., the reigning pope, who shewed him every attention; and “for an entire month he remained in the city, visiting the holy places, and frequenting them for the purpose of prayer. And when during this period the pope had often and attentively inquired of him and of those who were with him, concerning the state of their country, the habits of the people, the condition of the churches, and the great things which God had wrought by his means in his native land, as he was now preparing to return home, he [i.e. Innocent] entrusted him [i.e. Malachy] with delegated authority from himself, making him his legate for all Ireland; for it had been intimated to him by Bishop Gilbert, (who as we have said above, was the legate,) that he could not any longer attend to his duties, from weakness and old age. Malachy next makes application to have the establishment of the new metropolis confirmed, and palls entrusted to himself for both sees. And as to the privilege of the confirmation, that he received presently:—‘But with respect to the palls,’

says the supreme pontiff, 'we must manage that in a more solemn manner. You must summon together the bishops and clergy, and nobles of your land, and hold a general council of them. And in this way, with the consent and by the common desire of all, you can send over for the pall by respectable agents, and it shall be given you.'**

Such was the prudent answer of Pope Innocent relative to the palls; for he had sense enough to know that it would add little to the credit or influence of the Roman see here in Ireland, if they were sent over before it was quite evident that the minds of the people were fully prepared to receive them; and he adopted the best means of gaining information as to this particular. That the Irish generally did not care then very much about these palls, appears pretty plainly from the circumstance that after Malachy's death, no further application was made for them during four years; and at the end of that period the offer came from the other side: the pope beginning to repent, apparently, of not having struck while the iron was hot, hastened, to do so before it should become quite cold; and

*Vit. Mal. cap. xvi.

therefore, in A. D. 1152, he despatched Cardinal Paparo into Ireland with the four palls, as already mentioned. But I am anticipating what should follow.

On his way to Rome Malachy had visited St. Bernard and the monastery at Clairval, and was so delighted with all he saw and met there, that he wished it were possible for him to live and die in that retirement. Returning from Rome to Ireland he paid a second visit to Clairval, and left there some of his travelling companions, to be taught the rules and practice of the place, that they might come and establish similar institutions in Ireland: afterwards arriving at home, he sent others in like manner, who being made monks of that order, returned with others who were natives of that place, to extend their system in this country. Such intercourse could have been productive of little good to Ireland.

Malachy on his return began vigorously to exercise the new authority which he had received as pope's legate: holding councils in every part of the land, in which "the ancient traditions are restored to memory, which although allowed to be useful, had yet been abolished through the carelessness of

the priests; and not only these old ones are renewed, but new ones also are invented; and every appointment of his, like some decree of heaven, is adopted, enforced, and committed to writing for the use of posterity.”*

Several years passed away after St. Malachy's visit to Rome, and no further efforts were used for obtaining the palls. At length, in A.D. 1145, Pope Eugenius III. commenced his reign; and as he had been a monk of Clairval, Malachy confidently hoped that he should be able to obtain from him the desired privilege without any difficulty: two years more were allowed to elapse without any further steps being taken; but at the close of that time a favorable opportunity of bringing matters to maturity seemed to present itself.

In A.D. 1148, Eugenius visited France; and Malachy, hearing that he was staying for a while at Clairval, hoped that he might be able to visit him there before his departure, and obtain there most easily what he desired. He therefore summoned a national synod at Holmpatrick, where after three days spent in the consideration of other

* Vit. Mal. cap. xviii.

matters, the business of the palls was introduced on the fourth day; and Malachy, though not without some opposition, induced the assembly to agree that he himself should go as their agent to Pope Eugenius, to request him to grant the long-wished-for favour.

Malachy after setting out on this journey was delayed in his progress through England, so that when he arrived in Clairval, Pope Eugenius had left it: he would have followed the pontiff to Italy, but was seized, before he could do so, with a violent fever, which ended his earthly existence in a few days. It had been his wish to live and die at Clairval; the former part of this wish was denied him, but he obtained the latter part, and peacefully breathed his last in the presence of his beloved St. Bernard, and the other brethren of the community at Clairval.

It is unnecessary for us to dwell on St. Malachy's character in this place; our only object in making such copious extracts from his life, being to inform the reader of those transactions in it, which were so intimately connected with the general history of the Church of Ireland in his time. But as we have

already remarked that he was by no means free from the superstitions that abounded in those days, (a remark which applies to his biographer, St. Bernard, equally with himself,) we may add in reference to this one particular, that it appears sufficiently from various circumstances recorded of him, in the work which has been so largely quoted in this and the preceding section. Those circumstances are not worth being detailed at length here; but the bare mention of two out of many will give a sufficient idea of their nature. St. Bernard tells us that a careless and ungodly sister of Malachy's having died in her sins, was refused admittance into heaven, until Malachy had procured an entrance for her by repeated performances of the sacrifice of the mass: and in another part of the same work we read of his restoring to life a lady who had died without the benefit of extreme unction; at St. Malachy's intercession she is said to have revived, until the omitted ceremony was performed, after which, we are told, she again relapsed into the slumber of death.

§ 22.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNOD OF CASHEL.

The proceedings which took place at the synod of Cashel are described with more or less particularity, by the different authors who wrote the annals of the time in which it was held. The celebrated historian Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived at that time, gives the most detailed account of the acts passed in it, "in the very words," he says, "in which they were originally published." They are prefaced by him with the following observations:—"The king, influenced by a strong desire to promote the honour of God, and the worship of Christ, in those parts, summoned a council of the entire clergy of Ireland to meet at Cashel. And there, the enormities and filthy practices of the people of that land having been inquired into and enumerated publicly and also carefully committed to writing, under the seal of the bishop of Lismore, the legate, who then ranked in dignity above the rest there present, he issued several sacred enactments, which are still upon record, concerning the contract of marriage, the payment of tithes, the honouring of churches with due devoutness, and attending at them with frequency; these things he did endea-

vouring withal by every possible means to reduce the state of that Church to the model of the Church of England.”*

The legate here spoken of was Christian bishop of Lismore, who presided as the pope’s agent in this council. The enactments after having been subscribed to, were confirmed by the king’s authority. According to Giraldus, they were as follows:—

I.—That all the faithful in Ireland, desisting from connexions within the prohibited degrees of kindred and affinity, shall henceforth confine themselves to legitimate marriages.

II.—That children shall be catechized, [i.e. their godfathers should be interrogated †] at the church door, and baptized in the holy font at churches where baptisms are allowed to take place.

III.—That all the faithful of Christ shall pay tithes of their cattle, corn, and other produce, to the church of the parish to which they belong.

IV.—That all Church lands, and property on them, shall be entirely free from all exactions of laymen. And in particular that no petty princes,

* Girald. Camb. Hib. Expug. Pars. I. cap. xxxiii.

† Collier Ec. Hist. Book V.

earls, or any nobles of Ireland, shall exact for themselves or their families entertainment or free quarter upon Church estates, as has been usual ; nor presume henceforward to extort it by violence : and that those detestable contributions which are wont to be levied from the Church farms four times a year by the neighbouring earls, shall be levied no more.

V.—That in the case of homicide committed by the laity, when they compound with their enemies for the offence, the clergy who may be their relatives, shall pay no part of the fine.

VI.—That all heads of families among the faithful, when visited with sickness, shall make their will in the presence of their confessor and neighbours with becoming solemnity, and divide their moveable property into three parts, after deducting debt and servants' wages beforehand : one part to be for the children ; another for the lawful wife ; the third to defray the funeral expenses. And if they have no children lawfully begotten, let them be divided into two parts, between himself and his wife ; and if his wife be dead, let them be divided between himself and his children.

VII.—That those who die with a good confession shall be buried with suitable obsequies, and the accompaniment of wakes and masses. *Like-wise that all offices of divine service shall for the future, in all parts of Ireland, be regulated after the model of Holy Church, according to the observances of the Church of England.*

The synod at which these different regulations were enacted, is without doubt the most remarkable council of the Church which has ever met in Ireland, for several reasons. First, it was the first in which a general law for the payment of tithes throughout all Ireland, was enacted. Before this time the custom of doing so had been little, if at all, practised in this country; “very many never paid tithes, nor knew whether they ought to be paid.”* Secondly, this was the first council in which a law was passed for the uniformity of divine service in all parts of the Church in Ireland, and its agreement with the English Church service. Thirdly, this appears also to have been almost the first occasion on which the pope’s authority, administered by his legate was clearly admitted and recognised publicly

* Joh. Bromton. an. 1171.

by the general voice of the Church of Ireland. Gilbert had indeed acted as “pope’s legate for all Ireland” in A.D. 1139, but how far his labours were universally acceptable we cannot say; and when Cardinal Paparo distributed the palls, in A.D. 1152, at the synod of Kells, it is admitted that some of the Irish bishops, and many of the clergy, refused to sanction by their attendance the proceedings of that council. But even the synod of Cashel, though *generally* sanctioned by the chief pastors of the Irish Church, was far from being *universally* acceptable; nor are we to suppose that the entire body of the Irish people readily and at once consented to the ecclesiastical changes introduced in it. On the contrary they, like their descendants of this day, were fond of old habits and old ways of thinking, and therefore while such of them as were immediately connected with the English, or in complete subjection to them, adopted and observed carefully the rules and usages of the English Church; the rest who still asserted their own independence—those especially who lived in parts of the country less accessible to the English—followed still their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the synod of Cashel had never been held.

If we inquire now what was the necessity for summoning the synod of Cashel, or what the grievous abuses which it was proposed to remedy by means of this synod, the answer will partly be found in the brief retrospect of preceding transactions furnished in the life of Malachy, and in the charges there brought against the Irish by St. Bernard. Besides the things mentioned by him, there were other violations of propriety and Christian decency with which they were charged, such as divorcing themselves at pleasure from their wives, nay even exchanging wives with their neighbours ; having their bishops consecrated by one bishop only ; their children baptized without any of the consecrated chrism, or ointment blessed by the bishop : bishops too among them who took money for holy orders.*

With regard to baptism in particular an old chronicler mentions curious irregularities connected with it, that had prevailed before the synod of Cashel. "In that council," says the writer alluded to, "they made a decree, and enjoined by the pope's authority, that children should be baptized

* Lanfranc. Epist. in Usser. Sylloge.—Collier. Ec. Hist. Book IV.

in Church, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, and they enjoined that this should be performed by the priests. For before this, it was customary in different parts of Ireland, as soon as the child was born, for the father, or any one else, to plunge it thrice in water, or in milk if it were the child of a rich person; and afterwards they were in the habit of throwing out that water or milk in their sewers or other common places.”*

As to the general character then of the charges brought against the Irish Christians of the twelfth century by English and Romish writers of that age, we may see from what has been stated that some of them were trivial, others more serious, if true. And the best general remedy for all such disorders was considered to consist in bringing every thing to as near an agreement as possible with England and Rome. The direct tendency of the enactments made was therefore to abolish, so far as they were complied with, the ancient usages and characteristic distinctions which had hitherto marked the independence of the Irish Church: whatever evils

may have existed in the latter, little improvement could be expected, when the standard of reformation proposed was, not the primitive Church in its days of apostolic holiness and simplicity, walking according to the perfect and only infallible rule, of the Word of God, but the degenerate and corrupt form of Christianity then prevalent in other parts of Europe.

But the question may naturally occur, how came it to pass that the Irish, once so determined in their opposition to the Church of Rome, should now be induced so easily to acquiesce in measures that struck at the root of their ecclesiastical independence? And the answer is not difficult to find, when we glance over the events of the preceding history. Foreign invasions and domestic troubles had checked the progress of learning and religion in the land, and the spirit of zeal for knowledge and piety that had animated the Irish in more ancient times, had fled before the scourge of the Danish calamities. Then when all was in a state of declension and decay, Roman and English influence obtained a way into our country, and holding out hopes of present improvement, secured to

themselves permanent domination. The Ostmans were the first to encourage a foreign Church alliance in Ireland: Gilbert, the first pope's legate, was one of their bishops, and he was a most strenuous and effective instrument in promoting the growing intimacy between our ancient Irish clergy and the Church of Rome. In order to bring the Irish Church into conformity with that of Rome in its usages, and to inculcate the doctrine of the pope's supremacy, this prelate composed a tract on the services and discipline of the Church: it was addressed "To the bishops and clergy of all Ireland," and was written, as the preface informs us, "at the request and injunction of many of them." He endeavours in it, he says, "to set down in writing the canonical method of saying the hours, and performing the office of the entire Church service," and his object in this, he tells us, is "that those different and schismatical orders," (or service-books,) "by which almost all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office."

We have already seen how much Malachy did to second Gilbert's endeavours: how he himself

had gone to Malchus bishop of Lismore, who had been educated in England, to learn from him canonical rules and ritual observances, and how vigorously he employed himself afterwards in promoting in every quarter the influence and practices of the Church of Rome.

And therefore if Gilbert, in A.D. 1139, endeavoured to the best of his power, as pope's legate, to get rid of the old Irish services and usages, and introduce those of Rome; and Malachy about the same time did all he could as primate or pope's legate "to establish in all the churches . . . the customs of the Church of Rome," and the others of their party or appointment assisted, as no doubt they did, in this work, we need not wonder if in thirty years, such rising influence had attained to maturity, and prepared the minds of the generality for complete union with Rome and submission to her authority. And when King Henry laboured, as we read, "by every possible means, to reduce the state of the Irish Church to the model of the Church of England," we may well suppose that he found his work much lightened by the labours of those who had gone before him, and had little

difficulty in persuading the Irish prelates, by the costly bribe of tithes and other property wherewith he endowed them, to assist his objects, and use their influence in confirming his authority among their friends and fellow countrymen.

§ 24.—THE DARK AGES OF IRELAND.

The sun of glory which arose upon Ireland when the dawning light of Christianity began to dissipate the clouds of heathen darkness, appears to have increased in its brilliancy and clearness, until the seventh century, in the latter part of which it may be considered to have reached its meridian splendour. Soon after this period commenced its decline, which originated perhaps in natural causes at home, but was hastened by the violent influence of the Danish troubles, until at length in the twelfth century arrived the sunset of Ireland's purest glory, and there were left above our ecclesiastical horizon only a few lingering rays of the

departing light, which formed but a sort of twilight verging into the gloomy shades of midnight darkness. The period to which we now particularly refer may be reckoned from A.D. 1172, in which the assembly at Cashel met, to A.D. 1551, when the English liturgy was introduced into the Church of Ireland, in place of the Latin mass, under King Edward VI. It is true that long before the coming of the English into Ireland, there had existed in the bosoms of many Irish Churchmen, a strong feeling in favour of the Church of Rome, attributing to her a degree of respect and reverence much beyond what she had any claim to in those times. It is also true that into the Irish Church itself had been introduced by degrees many practices and opinions more congenial to the taste of the modern Church of Rome, than of the ancient Church of Ireland: and these circumstances tended to facilitate the introduction and establishment of the Romish system in the twelfth century; when the fervour of holy zeal for God's glory that had animated the Irish of old, had much abated; and the simplicity of the faith held by their ancient saints had been obscured and encumbered with many mischievous innovations.

It is also to be observed that although the introduction of the English liturgy was that which most completely exhibited the establishment of the Reformation in Ireland, and that which answered most exactly to the decree of the Cashel synod which enacted that the services of the Irish Church should be made to agree with those of Rome, yet much had been done before A.D. 1551 to promote the work of reformation in our Church, and in particular the usurped supremacy of the pope was abolished here in a parliament held in Dublin under Henry VIII., in A.D. 1537.

But though some abuses may have crept into the Church of Ireland before A.D. 1172, and something may have been done towards reformation before A.D. 1551, yet the period of time included between these dates, amounting to somewhat less than four hundred years, may be especially regarded as the dark ages of Ireland. The established doctrine of the Church during this time was Romanism, comprehending all the superstitions and antisciptural practices at present connected with the system. And while the belief of the Church was thus obscured with error; while at least errors prevailed

in the popular mind, affecting the most vital points of religion, against which the Church raised no protest, but rather encouraged them, the lives of many of her members, even of the clergy themselves, and of those too who held the highest rank among them exhibited many flagrant instances of immorality and vice. It is quite shocking to peruse the hideous annals of crime presented to our notice in the Church History of this period, and to reflect that some of the most painful instances of enormity and shameless violation of decency were to be found in the ministers and spiritual governors of the fold of Christ, the people who were appointed to be the light of the world and to attract mankind by their good works to glorify their Father in heaven. Bishops and archbishops, and other dignitaries of the Church, furnish us with a sad display in their lives, of hatred and variance, strife and violence, immorality and dissipation; and even bloodshed and murder are to be added to the black catalogue.

To illustrate these remarks by a very few practical examples selected out of many, it will suffice to allude to the following occurrences which took

place at various times included in the period of which we are speaking.*

A.D. 1210. About this year a most scandalous contention was carried on between the bishops of Waterford and Lismore, concerning certain lands alleged by each to be the property of his see. The affair was referred to commissioners appointed by the pope; but they having condemned the bishop of Waterford, that prelate enraged at their decision, formed a plot for seizing the bishop of Lismore; and accordingly, having besieged his cathedral while he was there at divine service, he hurried him away and cast him into a dungeon in Dungarvan, loaded with irons, and further sorely afflicted him while there with hunger and thirst, and many other cruel indignities.

A.D. 1223. Henry de Loundres, archbishop of Dublin, and lord justice of Ireland under King John, so plagued the people, (and at the same time violated the rights of the crown,) by drawing civil causes into the ecclesiastical courts, that on the

* The authorities for the facts stated in the following part of this book, may be seen in Bishop Mant's *History* of the Church of Ireland, from which, with permission of the Right Rev. author, much of this portion of the present work is abridged.

complaint of the citizens of Dublin, a writ was issued to prohibit him from such practices in future, with threats of severe penalties for disobedience.

A.D. 1313. Robert Jorse, archbishop of Armagh, arriving at Howth the day after the Annunciation, arose in the night time, and by stealth erected his cross and carried it as far as the priory of Grace Dieu, within the province of Dublin, where some of the archbishop's family (i.e. the clergy) met him, and beating down his cross, drove him in confusion out of Leinster. It was a mark of an archbishop's dignity to bear his cross erect in his own province, and a disgraceful contest existed for many years between several successive archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, as to the right claimed by each of exhibiting this symbol of authority in the province of the other. This unworthy dispute was carried on with such fierceness, that on eleven different occasions in the course of twenty years, between 1429 and 1449, successive archbishops of Armagh having been summoned to appear at parliaments holden in the province of Leinster, made returns to the writs of summons that they could not personally attend in consequence of this quarrel.

A.D. 1346. A parliament holden in Kilkenny having granted the king, Edward III., a supply of money for the exigencies of the state, the archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of his province threatened the severest penalties against any who contributed to the subsidy; and having gone to Clonmel, they in their pontifical robes, openly, in the middle of the street, excommunicated all who had advised, granted, or levied the money. (See Rom. xiii. 6.)

A.D. 1326. Punishment of heretics by corporal tortures was used in Ireland as well as in other countries at this time, and about the year 1326, Adam Duff, an Irishman, was burned in College Green, Dublin, being accused of denying many Scripture truths, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, &c. And about 1353, two other Irishmen were convicted of heresy, and burned by order of the bishop of Waterford.

A.D. 1353. The archbishop of Cashel, enraged at the bishop of Waterford for inflicting the aforesaid punishment without his license, assaulted him (the bishop) towards midnight, in his lodgings, grievously wounded him, and robbed him of his goods.

A.D. 1369. The bishop of Limerick being summoned to appear before the archbishop of Cashel to answer certain charges against him, attacked him with much violence, drew his blood, and compelled him to fly from Limerick. He also entered the city in his robes of state, and excommunicated by bell book and candle, all who had supplied the archbishop with food or entertainment; and afterwards when the archbishop was to preach a customary sermon in Limerick, the bishop forbade any one to attend on pain of excommunication, and excommunicated by name those who were present at the sermon.

A.D. 1442. John Prene, archbishop of Armagh, having a dispute with the dean and chapter of Raphoe, about the profits of the bishopric of Raphoe, excommunicated the dean and chapter, and granted forty days' indulgences to all who should fall upon their persons, and seize or dissipate their substance.

A.D. 1525. In this year a bishop of Leighlin was murdered by his archdeacon, because he had rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes, and threatened him with further correction.

These are a few instances of the scandalous enormities which disgraced our Church in the ages alluded to. The nature and design of the present work make it necessary to exclude all mention of some worse instances of vicious and scandalous living which arose especially from the law of clerical celibacy, introduced into Ireland in these times. Nor was the system of religious belief which then prevailed any more free from corruption and evil than were the lives of those who professed it. Superstition had clouded and obscured the simple faith of the Gospel, and many ingenious devices of man were resorted to, in the hope of appeasing heaven by human performances, and attaining eternal life by means more gratifying to the proud feelings of the human heart, than the way of salvation revealed in the Bible.

An extravagant degree of honour was put upon the state of celibacy, beyond what is attributed to it in Holy Scripture, so that at a very early period it is said that half the inhabitants of the kingdom had become monks. It is true that the ancient monks of Ireland and England, those for instance who lived in the seventh century, in the monasteries

founded by Columbanus, Aidan, Finan, Colman, &c., were men of holy and exemplary lives, devoted to exercises of piety and good works, abounding in fasting and prayer, diligent in the study and meditation of God's blessed Word, and constant in their teaching the same to the people; men who supported themselves by the labour of their own hands, *in silence working, and eating their own bread*; and all the while submitting themselves to the rules of a most strict and rigid discipline. The monasteries in those days "were the seminaries of the ministry, being as it were so many colleges of learned divines, whereunto the people did usually resort for instruction, and from whence the Church was wont continually to be supplied with able ministers."* And the influence of these institutions was not confined to Ireland merely, but extended itself, as we have seen, to other countries also, inducing strangers to come and live here, for the sake of the advantages they expected from Irish instruction. It was thus that Ceadda, for instance, and Egbert were led hither; of whom Bede says, that "they led in Ireland a monastic life in prayers and continence, and

* Ussher, Religion of A. I., chap. vi.

meditation of the Holy Scriptures;”* and in like manner so many others, as we have seen already. The monasteries also answered partly the purpose of parish churches at a time when the latter may be supposed to have been very scarce; “the people flocked apace on the Lord’s-day to church, or to the monasteries, not for the feeding of their bodies, but for the learning of the Word of God,” as we are informed by Venerable Bede.†

But the monks of after times exhibited a sad state of degeneracy from those ancient models to which we have just referred. Instead of being devoted to the cultivation of holiness, and the spiritual improvement of themselves and those around them, they became infected with a worldly spirit; their discipline was relaxed; their habits and characters changed; they were no longer constant as before *in labours, in watchings, and fastings*: and as they began more and more to neglect the seclusion and meditation to which their predecessors had been accustomed, and to busy themselves more and more with the ordinary secular pursuits and amusements of the world, they also began in the same

* Hist. Ec. iv. 3.

† Ib. iii. 26.

proportion to be more deeply contaminated with the vices and gross sins which prevailed among the rest of mankind.

In the thirteenth century arose the different "orders" of "mendicants" or begging friars, who professed to have no goods whatever of their own, but to live on the alms of the charitable ; counting it a high point of sanctity to live *by begging of other men's bread*, if the course they took could rightly be called begging, for it was rather a system of extortion by force, with which they persecuted all sorts of persons, whether clergy or laity ; so that the celebrated Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, (known by the name of St. Richard of Dundalk,) attacked them fiercely before the pope himself and his cardinals, (at Avignon, in A.D. 1357,) objecting to their faces, "that scarce could any great or mean man of the clergy or laity eat his meat, but such kind of beggars would be at his elbow ; not like other poor folks, humbly craving alms at the gate or door, (as Francis did command and teach them in his testament,) by begging, but without shame intruding themselves into courts or houses, and lodging there ; where, without any

inviting at all, they eat and drink what they do find among them : and not content with that, carry away with them either wheat, or meal, or bread, or flesh, or cheeses, although there were but two in a house, in a kind of extorting manner, there being none that can deny them, unless he would cast away natural shame.”*

Such is the contrast between the ancient monks of Ireland, and those who occupied their places at the time when Romanism flourished here unopposed ; and such the description given by an archbishop of the Church in those days, of the characters of the men who, under the pope’s special patronage, presumptuously and unceasingly interfered with the authority of the clergy of the Church, and persecuted them and the laity alike with their shameless effrontery and barefaced exactions.

It was believed in those ages that by performance of supposed meritorious actions, especially the founding and endowing of abbeys, and other religious houses, men might reckon on the favour of the Almighty as thus purchased not only for themselves but for others whom they might comprise with them

* Religion of A. I., chap. vi.

in the deed of gift. Numberless instances of this are on record; one of them may suffice for example;—Theobald, the son of Walter, Butler of Ireland, who died in 1206, confirmed to God and the Blessed Virgin, and certain monks of the Cistercian order, all his possessions in Arklow, “for the love of God and the Blessed Virgin, and for the health of the souls of Henry the II., king of England, King Richard and King John;” with those of several other persons, mentioned by name, among whom are included himself also and his wife.

The honour of Almighty God was also much confounded with the respect due to his saints; and the undue veneration in which the latter were held, caused them to be associated with the Deity on the most solemn occasions, as if they partook of his nature and attributes. Thus, on the erection of St. Patrick’s Cathedral in Dublin, the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, together with the pope’s legate, in A.D. 1191, consecrated the new edifice with great pomp and ceremony “to God, our Blessed Lady Mary, and St. Patrick.”

And to mention only one other instance of this species of corruption, we are told that John Alleyn,

dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, by his will in 1505; "committed his sinful soul to the grace and mercy of Jesus Christ, the Maker and Redeemer of him and of all mankind; and to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, his mother; and to all the saints."

We have already seen (p. 183) that the canonization of eminent persons, or receiving them into the number of saints, by the authority of the pope, was introduced into the Irish Church in the period now under consideration.

Besides the extravagant veneration given to the saints themselves, their images also were treated with the greatest reverence, and believed on many occasions to have wrought most singular miracles; many instances of such stories might be alleged, but they are not in any sense worth transcribing here, nor do my limits allow me to give any specimens of the countless other fictitious miracles to which these ages give birth.

And as for the relics of the saints which shared the honours given to themselves and their images, I shall say little more about them. Suffice it to mention that the zeal and diligence and ingenuity of the people influenced by the mistaken piety of

those times, were exercised in an extraordinary degree in hunting after bones and other relics of the early saints, which to reward their labours were found in great abundance, and treasured up with the most exact care. Some very strange and extraordinary articles were to be found in these collections. In a catalogue, for instance, of relics which belonged to Christ Church, Dublin, in the fourteenth century, we find enumerated among a host of other things almost equally singular and remarkable, “the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, crucified, which is said twice to have uttered words;” “some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin Mary;” “a thorn of the crown of our Lord Jesus Christ,” and a part “of the manger of the Lord.”

Many other circumstances might be pointed out in the Church History of this period, illustrating the corruptions of doctrine which then prevailed; those which have been alleged are however sufficient to show clearly how great a departure from the simplicity of the ancient faith had taken place in the degenerate ages alluded to. Before closing, however, this short review of the time when Ro-

manism reigned supreme in the Irish Church, it will be proper to describe briefly an important change in the discipline of that Church which was introduced at this period, and which has already been alluded to in a former part of the present work.

Anciently the number of bishoprics in Ireland was far greater than at present : it is supposed by some good authorities that there were so many as two or three hundred. The only see which exercised any sort of supreme jurisdiction for many ages was that of Armagh, which from the days of St. Patrick had been considered the metropolitan church of Ireland. The Irish bishops exercised their authority quite independently of any license from the bishop of Rome, and even created new bishoprics at will, as seemed expedient in their own judgment : thus, a little before the introduction of the palls from Rome, Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, had erected a new archbishopric in Cashel. The archiepiscopal dignity seems also to have been migratory in some cases ; attached to the person of an individual bishop, remarkable for piety, not

to the see ; thus we read of Moling, archbishop of Ferns, in the seventh century.*

The legate Gilbert, as we have seen, wrote a tract in the twelfth century for circulation in Ireland, the design of which was to assimilate the ritual and discipline of the Irish Church to the Church of Rome and other foreign Churches : in this tract he describes particularly the relation between the different orders and degrees of ecclesiastics, and their mutual subordination, explaining carefully the offices and ranks of primates, metropolitans, patriarchs, &c., as well as the inferior orders of the Romish Church. It is plain that the publication of such a tract (by the desire, as Gilbert states, of many of the Irish bishops) implies, that the people were before that time, ignorant in general of such a system of ecclesiastical discipline. But in the changes which took place here in the twelfth century, another state of things was introduced, and instead of one permanent archbishopric

* Vid. Colgan. Dr. O'Connor says that "the limits of dioceses in Ireland were unknown down to the eleventh century. There was no bishop of Dublin before that time. The bishops were the bishops of monasteries and of their dependencies, but not of dioceses."—Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. 4.

at Armagh, and numberless bishoprics scattered through the country, a constitution was adopted which displayed more unity of design, and was more easily capable of being influenced simultaneously in all its parts by a general movement communicated to its chief rulers. Four archbishops, and twenty-nine bishops were appointed for the government of the Irish Church.

The turbulence of those times rendering the small districts inadequate to the support of the bishop, may have contributed to make this reduction in the number of sees necessary or expedient; but the newly admitted authority and influence of the pope, seems to have operated still more strongly in effecting the change. The busy activity of the Irish prelates which tended to keep alive in them a spirit of independence, was to be restrained, and the number of bishops to be reduced. Accordingly in a council held at Kells, in Meath, in A.D. 1152, by Cardinal Paparo, it was enacted by him, "that on the death of village-bishops, or of bishops of the smaller sees in Ireland, into their places should succeed rural deans appointed by the diocesans, to superintend the clergy and people in their several districts."*

* Wilkin's Concilia, vol. I. p. 547.

And in pursuance of this enactment it was ordained by Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath, in A.D. 1216, at a synod held in the cathedral church of SS. Peter and Paul, Newtown, Athunry, "That in the churches of Athunry, Kells, Slane, Skryne, and Dunshaughlin, which formerly were bishops' sees in Meath, but are now heads of rural deaneries, the archpresbyters hereafter to be appointed, shall not only be always personally resident therein, but also attend to the care of the clergy and people within the limits of their deaneries."

Here we see five bishops in one diocese of Meath reduced at once to rural deaneries: more than twenty others are enumerated as having formerly existed in this same diocese. These circumstances are sufficient to show how numerous were the bishops of Ireland in ancient times, and how they came to be reduced to so small a number as afterwards existed.

In the period of time from the synod of Cashel to the reformation of the British churches, a great stimulus was given to the advancing power of the Roman see in Ireland by means of the persons who were nominated to fill vacant bishoprics. While

the annals of the times alluded to abound with accounts of incessant disputes between the popes and the kings of England respecting these appointments, as well as with remonstrances of the Irish clergy against the admission of foreigners into their Church, the general result of such disputes was, that on the whole the episcopal sees were mostly filled by Englishmen devoted to the papal interest, who with the powerful support of the English government, used every effort to eradicate and abolish the remaining usages peculiar to the Irish Church, the last relics of its ancient independence.

§ 25.—ALTERATIONS IN THE STATE OF RELIGION IN THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

We now come to consider one of the most important and interesting parts of the Church History of Ireland, indeed perhaps the most interesting of all ; that part namely, which relates to the changes connected with religion which took place in Great Britain and Ireland under Henry VIII. and the

three succeeding monarchs. Before entering on the brief account of these important transactions which my limits will allow me to set before my readers, I think it will be calculated to help us to a clearer understanding of them if I give here a little table shewing at one view the times when the four monarchs above mentioned came to the throne, the lengths of their respective reigns, &c., which are as follows:—

Names.	Born	Reigns began.	Reigned.			Reigns ended.	Age.
	A.D.		Y.	M.	D.		
Henry VIII.	1492	1509, April 22.	37	9	6	1547, Jan. 28.	55
Edward VI.	1537	1547, Jan. 28.	6	5	9	1553, July 6.	15
Mary	1516	1553, July 6.	5	4	11	1558, Nov. 17.	42
Elizabeth	1533	1558, Nov. 17.	44	4	7	1603, Mar. 24.	69

The pope or bishop of Rome claims to be supreme head and governor on earth of the whole Christian Church, and of every particular branch of it that may be established in any country: thus, for instance, he would have it thought that the Church of Ireland is by right under his jurisdiction, and that it and every one belonging to it ought to look on him as the highest earthly authority in the Church, and submit to all the laws which he may enjoin on it, however burdensome, or however con-

trary to the obedience which an Irish Christian owes to his own king. Now the pope had managed in the twelfth century to get the heads of our Church to admit this monstrous and antichristian usurpation: he had got them to acknowledge, that no archbishops or bishops should be appointed unless by his authority, that he alone could confirm them in their offices, or regulate their privileges, and that their obedience to him was not to be interfered with by any duties which they might appear to owe to the king of their own country.

A long train of circumstances had led King Henry VIII. to a full sense of the vanity and absurdity of the pope's pretensions to such authority, and seeing how much it interfered with his own rights, and oppressed his subjects, he determined to shake it off altogether: and accordingly he and the parliament of England suppressed in 1532 and 1533 a whole host of fees and taxes of various sorts, first-fruits, tenths, Peter-pence, payment to be made on admission to bishoprics, and a thousand other sources of gain, which had been the means of conveying hitherto an immense revenue out of England annually to the popes. But these changes

being loudly exclaimed against by some of the adherents to the latter, who pretended that the usurped jurisdiction of the pope which had been suppressed, was founded on "the Word of God," the question was proposed to the bishops and clergy of England in 1534, "whether the bishop of Rome has, in the Word of God, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop?" It was determined in the negative. The universities, chapters, monks, friars, &c., throughout the kingdom declared their assent; one bishop only (Fisher) refused to unite in the general decision of the Church of England; and in this way the supremacy of the pope, or his usurped jurisdiction over England, was by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities regularly and lawfully suppressed.

Ireland as well as England had been persecuted with the pecuniary exactions of the greedy popes; and in addition to the customary demands on ordinary occasions, extortions of a more wholesale nature were sometimes practised, whereby both countries were alike victimised; as when, in A.D. 1240, a missionary arrived here from Pope Gregory with a demand, under pain of excommunication and

other ecclesiastical censures, of the twentieth part of the whole land, besides donations and private gratuities for the maintenance of the war which the pope was carrying on against the Emperor Frederick ; whereby he extorted a thousand and five hundred marks, or more. The English clergy were at the same time forced to give for the same purpose, a fifth part of their revenues ; and numerous other instances of the like exactions might be adduced, did space permit.

King Henry therefore having succeeded in causing his supremacy in the Church of England to be recognised by the clergy and authorised by parliament, was desirous of establishing the like supremacy in the Church of Ireland. This however he found to be a matter of considerable difficulty, chiefly in consequence of the opposition to the measure arising from George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, the latter being a zealous promoter of the pope's supremacy in despite of the pretensions of the king, and possessing such influence as induced many others to join him in this opposition.

But a vacancy having occurred in the archbishopric of Dublin in July, 1534, an opportunity

was afforded to the king in filling it up, of introducing into the Irish Church a prelate more likely to advance his wishes there, and one whose personal character and abilities, combined with the influence derived from the exalted station which he was to fill, might serve as a counteracting force to resist the opposition of Primate Cromer, and effect the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy in all the Church of Ireland.

Accordingly the king's choice fell upon George Browne, a person whose character was well adapted to the important and trying crisis at which he was called to this high office. He was of a cheerful disposition, kind and benevolent to the poor, having compassion not only for their temporal wants, but also for the state and condition of their souls: and withal his conduct was marked by an honest and straightforward simplicity and plainness. Having been educated in Oxford, in an Augustinian friary, he afterwards lived as one of that order for some time in London, and became so eminent among his brethren, that he was chosen provincial of their order in England. In this capacity he was remarked for the peculiarity of his doctrine in ad-

vising the people to make their application for aid to Christ alone, and not to the Virgin Mary and other saints.

Having received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in some foreign university, he was honoured with the same rank at Oxford in 1534, and at Cambridge soon after. And in the following March being advanced by King Henry VIII. to the archbishopric of Dublin, he was consecrated with all the customary forms by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury; every thing being transacted according to the Romish ritual, and the only deviation from the ordinary course of consecration being, that instead of his being indebted for the pall and other marks of his archiepiscopal rank to the bishop of Rome, he received these symbols of his new dignity from the legitimate authorities of the Church of his own nation, and thus entered on his office unshackled by submission to the usurped power of the bishop of Rome.

Nor had the king reason to repent of the choice which he had made in the advancement of Archbishop Browne, for he found him ever after to be a

zealous and faithful promoter of the objects which he had in view, and sincerely desirous to effect the important changes in religious affairs then contemplated by him.

About the time when the new archbishop came to Dublin, a body of commissioners was appointed, of whom he was one, to make arrangements for removing the pope's authority from Ireland, and for reducing that kingdom to a conformity with England, in acknowledging the sovereign power of the crown, whether in things spiritual or temporal. But many difficulties opposing their endeavours, the archbishop recommended that the king's supremacy should be established in Ireland by act of parliament; and this was accordingly done by an enactment passed in a parliament holden at Dublin, in A.D. 1537, under Lord Leonard Grey, the lord deputy, although not without much strong opposition from the clergy, which was however eventually quashed.

Among other acts passed in this same parliament, which materially affected the state of religion and of the Church in Ireland, was one for encouraging "the English order, habit, and language," which required that "spiritual promotions should

only be given to such persons as could speak *English*, unless, after four proclamations, made in the next market town, such could not be had." The same act further enjoined that parochial *English* schools should be established in the country, and that all clergymen should be bound by oath to "endeavour to learn and teach the *English* tongue to all and every being under his rule; and to bid the beads in the *English* tongue, and preach the Word of God in *English*, if he can preach." On the tendency and natural consequences of this act, we cannot stay to comment here; occasion will however present itself for returning to the subject in a subsequent page.

The nature of the supremacy and allegiance of his subjects which the king contended for, and the sentiments of those who opposed themselves to his endeavours in this matter, will be better understood from perusing the following sentences extracted from a vow of obedience to the pope, which, pursuant to a commission received from Rome, the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy circulated and enforced among their people about this time.

"I, A. B., from this present hour forward, in the

presence of the Holy Trinity, &c., . . . shall
and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St.
Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope of
Rome, and his successors, in all things, as well
spiritual as temporal, &c., &c. . . .

.

“ I count all acts, made or to be made by heretical
powers, of no force, or to be practised, or obeyed
by myself or any other son of the mother Church
of Rome.

“ I do further declare him or her, father or mother,
brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or
wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or
kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others,
nearest or dearest relations, friend or acquaintance
whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold,
for time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil above
the authority above the mother Church, or that do
or shall obey for the time to come, any of her the
mother Church’s opposers or enemies, or contrary
to the same, of which I have here sworn unto; so
God, the blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and
the holy evangelists, help, &c.”

How little do sentiments such as these harmo-

nize with the doctrines which the Church of Rome had learned from St. Peter and St. Paul. (See Rom. xiii. 1, and I. St. Peter, ii. 13, &c.)

The working of these sentiments inculcated by the Romish Church was afterwards strikingly exhibited in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when Pope Pius V. published his bull of excommunication against her, or, if we use the language of a Romish historian of Ireland, “deservedly deprived her of her kingdom” ! the consequence of which was, that such of our poor countrymen as he could seduce to follow his wicked and antichristian devices, were instigated to unite themselves in all the ties of bigotry and rebellion combined, to overthrow the government of their lawful sovereign.

The king’s supremacy was now established by act of parliament, and at the same time various ecclesiastical taxes, first-fruits, &c., which had been hitherto paid to Rome, were now made payable to his majesty or to commissioners nominated by him. But although these acts were passed by parliament, there remained much difficulty in the execution of them. Archbishop Browne had but few of the Irish bishops to assist his endeavours, the number of

them that were then favourable to reformation being very small ; but he himself was most diligent and incessant in his labours, notwithstanding all opposition, continually preaching against the supremacy of the pope, the worship of images, and the error of trusting in the saints in place of Christ, the one Mediator between God and sinners.

The mass was still used in Latin, but the archbishop addressed to all his clergy a form of prayer in English, called the "Form of the Beads," or prayers which they were to teach the people to use, containing petitions for the Catholic Church, the king, clergy, and such others as he thought suitable to suggest to them. Every effort was also made by the archbishop to get the clergy to preach the pure Word of God in English to the people ; the number however of those whom he could prevail upon to do so was exceedingly small.

About Christmas, A.D. 1538, Archbishop Browne visited with the lord chancellor and others the counties of Carlow, Waterford, Wexford, and Tipperary : in these counties he exerted himself in enforcing the king's supremacy, preaching also and setting forth the Word of God in the several places

to which they came. Large audiences attended his preaching, from which very important results followed ; for in a letter written from Dublin to the English government soon after, we find the following statement:—"At Clonmel was with us two archbishops and eight bishops, in whose presence my lord of Dublin preached, in advancing the king's supremacy, and the extinguishment of the bishop of Rome. And, his sermon finished, all the said bishops, in all the open audience took the oath mentioned in the acts of parliament, both touching the king's succession and supremacy before me the king's chancellor ; and divers others there present did the like." Among the signatures to the letter here mentioned is that of the archbishop himself.

The establishment of the royal supremacy, concerning which I have had occasion to say so much, was by far the most important alteration connected with religion which took place during the reign of Henry VIII. ; for it was this that rendered reformation possible, there being no hope nor possibility of any improvement so long as our Church acknowledged the bishop of Rome for her supreme head, and consented to remain, at his will, encumbered

with the bonds of slavery and subjection to Italian usurpation, which like a millstone tied about her neck, tended to sink her in the sea of gross and degrading superstitions which were then prevalent.

But although King Henry knew well how to defend his royal rights from the encroachments of a usurping foreigner, and though his exertions in this behalf were kindly overruled by Providence, so as to lead to real reformation, yet this latter was a thing of which the king himself seems to have been little desirous: he was in doctrine a bigoted Romanist, and would probably never have sanctioned the further changes which were made in the state of religion under his children, Edward and Elizabeth. He also did much harm to the Church of Ireland, and that in more ways than one; for when Primate Cromer died in 1543, he appointed as his successor, George Dowdall, a man strongly attached to the interests of the Romish see, and firmly opposed to the alterations then in progress; so much so, that although he was willing to receive his appointment from the king, he endeavoured afterwards, but ineffectually, to have it confirmed by the pope.

And again when King Henry had effected the dissolution of great numbers of monasteries in Ireland, instead of bestowing their incomes on the improvement of the Church, or expending them in providing for the religious improvement of the people in any other way, caring little apparently for the impoverishment of the Church, he misapplied those revenues to the purposes of promoting his own gratification or enriching his favourites.

Still many of his advisers and agents were better men than himself, and through their influence and instrumentality much good was effected in his reign. The exertions of Archbishop Browne, of Staples, bishop of Meath, and the few other bishops and clergy of Ireland who were desirous of reformation, had done much already to correct abuses and prepare the way for further improvements. In particular, idolatry had been to a great extent abolished in Dublin and elsewhere, and the images and other objects of superstitious veneration of which the churches had been full, were removed to make way for English translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. These latter formed somewhat more suitable embellishments for

the walls of the places of Christian worship, and unlike their predecessors, tended to inform and edify the minds of the attendant worshipers.

Before concluding these observations on the reign of Henry VIII. it may be well to suggest to the reader of these pages, that it is to be borne in mind that up to this time there was no open schism in the Church of Ireland. There did not as yet exist here two separate bodies of Christians, such as we have at this day, each claiming for their rulers the spiritual allegiance of the people of Ireland. Archbishop Browne and the promoters of reformation, and Primates Cromer and Dowdall who resisted its progress, and strove to maintain still the former state of things, were members of the same Church, only differing in their sentiments and views of Christian doctrine, and in their judgment of what was most profitable for the Church to which they both belonged. The men who contended now for the support of the pope's jurisdiction, were members and prelates of the Irish Church: and it was not till afterwards (in the reign of Queen Elizabeth) that the pope found it necessary to have recourse to the desperate expedient of forming a

new, a second, Church in Ireland, the heads of the old one having altogether deserted him, and discarded on mature deliberation, his pretended authority over them.

§ 25.—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION UNDER
KING EDWARD VI.

In the person of Edward VI. we meet with a true reformer, and one sincerely zealous for the honour of God and the advancement of pure religion. But his youthful piety was not permitted long to adorn the throne of this empire, for God whom he served and loved was pleased at an early stage of his mortal career to transfer him from an earthly to a heavenly kingdom.

Still in the six years of his reign, important good was done for the Church of Ireland; though much less than might have been expected; owing probably to the circumstance that the young king's advisers and guardians were cautious of adopting,

during his minority, any strong measures affecting the state and condition of the Irish Church.

The majority of the bishops and clergy at this time were in favour of the Romish creed and practice, under the patronage of Primate Dowdall. But King Edward having several opportunities when vacancies occurred among the Irish bishops, of appointing others, took care to make his selections in such a way as to increase the number of prelates favourable to religious reformation. And thus five at least of those appointed by him were friends and supporters of the Reformation; namely, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, Casey of Limerick, Bale of Ossory, and finally, Goodacre, archbishop of Armagh, successor to Primate Dowdall. All these were appointed in A.D. 1550 and the two following years.

But the most striking improvement in the state of religion in Ireland during this reign was the introduction of the English liturgy into the churches, in accordance with an order from the king, addressed to the lord deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, on the 6th of February, 1551.

The first step taken by the viceroy on receiving

this order, and before he proceeded to notify it by a general proclamation, was to call together an assembly of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, on the 1st of March, 1551: and to acquaint them with his majesty's order, as also with the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England who had acceded to the order. The feelings of the Romish party in reference to the new liturgy, and the principle of common prayer in general, are curiously illustrated by a remark made by Primate Dowdall in his reply to the communication of the lord deputy on this occasion. "Then," said he, "shall every illiterate fellow read mass;" grounding an absurd objection on that which was one of the great advantages of the new liturgy, viz., that it was composed in a language plain and intelligible to the unlearned portion of the community.

To the primate's contemptuous objection the lord deputy returned a mild and judicious answer. "No," said he, "your grace is mistaken: for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the

liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for."

After some further conference or altercation, the primate and his party left the assembly. The archbishop of Dublin remained and received the king's order, commending it to his brethren who were present. Some of the more moderate bishops and clergy followed his example, among whom were Staples, bishop of Meath; Lancaster, bishop of Kildare; Travers, bishop of Leighlin; and Coyn, bishop of Limerick.

The result of this assembly was a proclamation issued by the lord deputy for carrying the order into effect, and the consequent celebration of divine worship according to the English liturgy, on Easterday, in Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, in presence of the viceroy, the archbishop, and the mayor and bailiffs of the city, when the archbishop preached an able sermon on the eighteenth verse of the hundred and nineteenth Psalm—*Open mine eyes that I may see the wonders of thy Law.*

Very soon after this the lord deputy St. Leger was recalled, and Sir James Crofts, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, was appointed to

the government of Ireland by letters patent, the twenty-ninth of April, 1551. Soon afterwards he arrived, bringing with him instructions for himself and the council, one of which was, "To propagate the worship of God in the *English* tongue; and the service to be translated into *Irish* in those places which need it." It would have been well had the purpose expressed in the latter clause of this sentence been as promptly and vigorously executed as it was happily and prudently projected. But it seems to have fallen to the ground, the short duration of the reign of King Edward having probably prevented its execution.

The new viceroy Sir James Crofts has the character of having been "a zealous Protestant;" and agreeably to that character, as well as in dutiful discharge of the trust reposed in him by his sovereign, he lost no time on his arrival in endeavouring to persuade the primate into submission to the king's order concerning the liturgy. Having therefore been sworn into office on the twenty-third of May, he wrote an earnest letter to Archbishop Dowdall, on the sixteenth of June, inviting him to a conference with the other prelates; and the pri-

mate having consented to meet them, the proposed conference accordingly took place the next day, in the great hall of St. Mary's abbey, where the primate was then residing. The lord deputy was accompanied by the bishops of Meath and Kildare, the former of whom was the chief speaker on their side in the debate with the primate which ensued. The particulars of this debate are recorded in a manuscript of the British museum, and are interesting enough, but too long for full insertion here.

We may however briefly state that the primate commenced by dwelling on the antiquity of the mass, and condemning the liturgy as an innovation upon it, "established without the consent of the mother Church:" to which the bishop of Meath replied that "the liturgy is but the mass reformed and cleansed from idolatry," and that "there is no Church upon the face of the whole earth hath altered the mass more oftener than the Church of Rome." When the primate further asserted that the mass had been since the apostle's days, and that part of it had been attributed to St. Ambrose, Bishop Staples again replied that those two prayers attributed to St. Ambrose are spurious, in proof of which he

quoted the authority of the learned Erasmus ; and added, that Ambrose “ had more of the truth and of God’s Spirit in him than our latter bishops of Rome ever had, as to pray to the Blessed Virgin as if she had been a goddess.” But said the primate “ Was she not called ‘ blessed ;’ and did she not prophecy of herself, when she was to bear our Saviour Jesus Christ, that she would be called by all men ‘ blessed ?’ And is it not probable, that St Ambrose desired the Blessed Virgin’s mediation for him, as she is the mother of Christ ? Are not children commanded by God’s commandments to reverence and obey their parents ? therefore, as he is a man, why may he not be subject ?”

To these arguments the bishop of Meath replied, that although the Virgin be called ‘ blessed,’ yet others too are so named, even by Christ himself. “ In his first sermon made by him in the mount, *Blessed*, saith he, *be the meek, be the merciful, be the pure in heart, &c. . . .* and St. Ambrose knew better, that he ought to apply to Jesus, the sole and only mediator between him and God ; and that, as Christ is man, he is the mediator. If the Blessed Virgin therefore can command her son in

heaven to mediate, then St. Ambrose would have made her a goddess, or a coadjutor with God, who is Himself omnipotent. And lastly, if we make her a mediator as well as Christ, we do not only suspect Christ's insufficiency, but mistrust God's ordinances, thinking ourselves not sure by his promises to us and our forefathers, that Christ should be our mediator."

Here the primate cut the matter short by suggesting that "all was in vain when two parties so contrary met; and that the lord deputy's pains would, he was sorry to say, be only lost:" he further added that his oath to the pope bound him to persevere in the course which he was pursuing: which same oath, Bishop Staples, he said, ought to remember that he himself had also taken. The bishop of Meath admitted he had taken the oath; yet "held it safer for his conscience to break it than to observe it, believing it to be hard for any clergyman so swearing, to be a true subject to his king if he observed the same." Upon this the debate ended; and the lord deputy and the two bishops with him, arose and took their leave.

A contest for precedence had been going on for

some centuries between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, each claiming it in right of his see: but latterly it had been enjoyed with little or no opposition by the archbishop of Armagh, who was distinguished by the title of primate of *all* Ireland, from the archbishop of Dublin, who styled himself only primate of Ireland. But in consequence of the obstinate opposition made by Archbishop Dowdall to the Reformation, and specially to the introduction of the liturgy, and in acknowledgment of the zeal, resolution, and extraordinary services of Archbishop Browne; by an act of the twentieth of October, 1551, the king and council of England deprived the former of the primacy of all Ireland, and by letters patent conferred the title on the latter and his successors, and annexed it to the see of Dublin for ever.

Soon after this, Archbishop Dowdall was either banished (as some think) from the kingdom, or else (which is perhaps more probable) withdrew voluntarily beyond the seas, retiring from his archbishopric in disgust with recent ecclesiastical changes. In either case the government considered the primacy to be vacant, and measures were accordingly taken for providing a successor.

It was thought convenient that this place, as well as the bishopric of Ossory, which had recently become vacant by the death of its former occupant, should be filled by Englishmen; and Archbishop Cranmer was therefore applied to, and requested to nominate some worthy persons for those preferments. Cranmer mentioned the names of four persons whom he thought suitable, and who, he supposed, would be "willing for conscience sake to bestow the talent committed unto them wheresoever it should please the king's majesty to call them." Of these four the one whom the archbishop judged fittest was named Whitehead, and the next to him Turner; he added also the name of a fifth person, Hugh Goodacre, but doubted whether he would be persuaded to take this charge upon him: for independently of other obstacles to his doing so, the English, it seems, were never very fond of living in Ireland.

The king selected Turner; a clergyman who, according to Archbishop Cranmer's account of him, "was merry and witty withal;" but what was of far more consequence, "he was one that *longed for nothing, thirsted for nothing, dreamed of*

nothing, save Christ Jesus : and in the lively preaching of Him and His Word, declared such diligence, faithfulness, and wisdom, as for the same deserveth much commendation." Turner however, on being offered the preferment, and pressed by the archbishop to accept it, steadily refused to do so ; urging that "if he were to come to Ireland, he should have no auditors, but must preach to the walls and stalls : for the people understood no English." The archbishop, on the other hand, endeavoured to answer all his objections, though evidently himself very imperfectly informed on the subject. He told him, "They did understand English in Ireland ; though whether they did in the diocese of Armagh, he did indeed doubt. But to remedy that, he advised him to learn the Irish tongue ; which with diligence, he told him, he might do in a year or two ; and that there would this advantage arise thereby, that both his person and doctrine would be more acceptable, not only unto his diocese, but also throughout all Ireland."

Turner however was resolute in his refusal, and in the end the charge fell upon Hugh Goodacre, above mentioned ; who was accordingly consecrated

in Christ Church, Dublin, on February 2, 1553, by the archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the bishops of Kildare, and of Down and Connor; and on the same occasion, the celebrated John Bale, who was also an Englishman, was consecrated for the vacant bishopric of Ossory.

Bishop Bale forms a very prominent character in the history of the British Reformation. He was one of the most zealous and decided antagonists of the Romish abuses in Ireland, and one of the most strenuous and laborious advocates of the reformed religion; his exertions on behalf of which, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the enmity and persecution of the party who strove to maintain the pope's authority, and the peculiarities of his religion. He had been educated first in the Carmelites' Convent at Norwich, and afterwards at Jesus' College, Cambridge; at which time, according to his own confession, "ignorance and blindness had wholly possessed him;" till betaking himself to the source of all true knowledge, the written Word of God, he was converted from the error of his ways, and shook off the yoke of his former superstitious profession. In the reign of King Henry VIII. he had been thrown into prison, first by Lee, arch-

bishop of York, and afterwards by Stokesly, bishop of London, for preaching against the Romish religion; especially the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of images. He afterwards withdrew to the Continent, and lived for eight years in Germany, avoiding the persecutions to which persons holding his sentiments were subjected in the latter years of King Henry's reign. On the accession of Edward, he returned to England, and after residing there for some time, was promoted, by the king's own choice, to the bishopric in Ireland.

Immediately after his consecration, Bishop Bale betook himself to Kilkenny, the place of his cathedral church, and his episcopal residence; and engaged in preaching the Gospel, in which practice he constantly persevered, notwithstanding the opposition and contradiction which assailed him from the greater part of his prebendaries, and from the advocates of the papacy in general. For as yet the principles and practices of the Reformation appear to have taken very faint hold of the minds of the people here; and even where the provisions of the English liturgy were avowedly adopted, they were corrupted by an intermixture of Romish super-

stitutions. The Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper was accompanied with various unprofitable and vain ceremonies, such as "bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings, the Lord's death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached nor yet spoken of:" and the dead were bewailed with "prodigious howlings and patterings," as if the redemption by Christ's passion were not sufficient to procure quiet for the souls of the deceased, and to deliver them out of hell without these "sorrowful sorceries." These and many other superstitious usages of those times, Bishop Bale censures in no very measured terms.

Of his own preaching he gives the following account:—"I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the Gospel of salvation; to acknowledge and believe, that there was but one God; and Him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship: to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in His alone for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the Christian Church, and

helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number." He told them also "that their prayers for the dead procured no redemption to the souls departed; redemption of souls being only in Christ, of Christ, and by Christ;" adding "that the priest's office, by Christ's straight commandment, was chiefly to preach and instruct the people in the doctrine and ways of God, and not to occupy so much of the time in chanting, piping, and singing." And further, he used every exertion to have the Book of Common Prayer introduced into the churches of his diocese, but found to his great vexation that the opposition of his clergy rendered these endeavours unsuccessful.

However, unassisted as he was by those whose co-operation he might have looked for, he exerted himself so far as an individual could, in promoting the great work on which his heart was set; and continued diligently discharging his pastoral duties, and preaching continually in his cathedral of Kilkenny, until after midsummer; "quietly setting forth Christ and salvation by Him alone, to his people," and labouring to withdraw them from the old superstitions. But the period of his labours

was short ; for he had scarcely occupied his place six months when the king died, and the work of reformation was altogether suspended for a time during the reign of his successor.

To sum up briefly the most important features of the reign of Edward VI., so far as our Church was concerned, we may see that they were chiefly these :—the establishment of the king's supremacy, displayed particularly in his appointment of bishops irrespectively of the pope's authority ; the advancement of the work of reformation in the Church, by selecting judicious and suitable persons for the episcopal office ; and the introduction of the English liturgy into the churches of Ireland ; which latter arrangement at once exhibited the progress already made in the work of reforming religion, and the principles on which that reform was conducted, and at the same time tended to confirm the improvements made by recommending them thus to the judgment of all well-disposed, sensible, and pious Christians.

§ 27.—THE WORK OF REFORMATION CHECKED
FOR A TIME BY QUEEN MARY'S ACCESSION.

On the death of King Edward VI. his sister Mary came to the throne. Most of my readers have probably heard something of her cruel persecution of those who embraced the reformed doctrines, and how in her reign, by the instigation of the followers of the bishop of Rome, and by her authority, many good and pious persons were put to death in England for their religion ; and how in particular the venerable bishops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, who had done most to reform the state of religion there, were for this offence burned alive at Oxford.

But in Ireland, by the great mercy of God, the effects of her reign were not quite so disastrous ; for although provision was made in the instructions given to her viceroy in this country, and also in parliamentary enactments, for the persecution, imprisonment, and burning of heretics here, yet those heretics, as the professors of the reformed religion were called, were not made the subjects of public and general persecution to the extent to which

matters were carried in England. A plan for doing this was set on foot, it appears, in the latter part of the queen's reign, but it is said to have been singularly frustrated, as we shall see presently. Meanwhile however, individuals were emboldened to every violence to the favourers of the Reformation, knowing that there was little danger of their being called to account for their wickedness by a government so likely to join in it.

An instance of such persecution we have in the case of Bishop Bale. After the queen's accession this prelate had continued to maintain actively, both in public and private, what he believed to be the truths of the Gospel, in opposition to all gain-sayers, until his life became endangered from the violence of the pope's party: he was at length assaulted in his own house, and narrowly escaped with his life, after having seen five of his servants slain before his face. He was afterwards hunted from one place to another, till he reached a place of safety on the Continent, where he remained for five years; after which the death of Queen Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth rendered it safe for to him return to Britain.

The general effect of Mary's accession upon the Irish Church was to check totally, for a time at least, the progress of the Reformation, and as far as possible to undo what had been done in the preceding reign. Prompt measures were taken for reducing the country again under the entire dominion of the pope and his system: and for this purpose one of the first steps adopted by the government was to deprive of their sees those bishops who were favourable to the Reformation, and to substitute in their places others attached to the Romish religion.

The death of Archbishop Goodacre, which took place a little before the queen's accession, saved him from being thus deprived, and left the see open for the restoration of Archbishop Dowdall, who was soon recalled from his exile, and restored to the privileges and honours which he had formerly enjoyed as archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland.

But the other bishops favourable to the Reformation, who were alive at Queen Mary's accession, were soon thrust out of their places by her. For this purpose a commission was issued in April,

1554, the month after the primate's restoration, to him, to Walsh, elect bishop of Meath ; Leverous, the future bishop of Kildare ; and other delegates, authorising them to take measures for restoring the Romish religion, and especially for re-establishing celibacy among the clergy, by punishing those who had been guilty of violating it by marriage. In execution of this commission, on the twenty-ninth of June, Staples bishop of Meath was deprived of his see ; and in the latter end of the same year, the like penalty was inflicted on Browne, archbishop of Dublin ; Lancaster, bishop of Kildare ; Travers, bishop of Leighlin ; and Casey, bishop of Limerick. Bale, of Ossory, as already stated, had fled beyond the seas.

As to what became of these good men afterwards, it is to be mentioned that Archbishop Browne, and bishops Staples, Lancaster, and Travers, are supposed to have died soon after their deprivation. Bishop Casey survived the reign of the persecuting queen, and was restored to his see by Queen Elizabeth. Bishop Bale, after his return from the Continent to England, did not seek a restoration to his bishopric, but was contented with a prebend in the

cathedral of Canterbury, bestowed on him by the bounty of the queen.

In the room of the deprived prelates, supporters of the Reformation, were substituted bishops attached to the religion and jurisdiction of the pope. The person chosen to succeed Archbishop Browne in the see of Dublin, was Hugh Curwen, a native of England; he was already dean of Hereford and archdeacon of Oxford. His consecration took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, according to the forms of the Romish ritual, on the eighth of September, 1555.

Archbishop Curwen had been chaplain to King Henry VIII., and his religious creed seems to have been such as that monarch had patronized; for while he zealously contended for the doctrine of the king's supremacy in opposition to the claims of the pope, he at the same time firmly held the peculiar doctrines of the Romish Church, transubstantiation, &c.; and on arriving at his place in Dublin, he set himself to work to counteract the effects which had been wrought by his predecessor. Especially he showed himself more favourable to the old idolatry that had been practised before

Archbishop Browne's time; and as an instance of this, he caused to be re-erected in Christ Church the marble image of our Saviour, which Archbishop Browne had displaced, though as we shall see ere long, he himself again caused the image to be removed. His first sermon in Christ Church, early in December, 1555, created a strong impression in his favour, and gave encouragement to those who loved the Word of God, to hope that he might yet be the instrument of good.

I have already hinted at the design entertained by Queen Mary of lashing the Irish Protestants with the scourge of persecution. This design of hers is said to have been providentially frustrated, in the curious manner described in the following anecdote.

The commission for punishing the Protestants of Ireland was entrusted by Queen Mary to Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to bring to Dublin with him. On his way having arrived at Chester, he stopped at an inn there, where he was soon waited on by the mayor of that city, a zealous Romanist, who came to pay his respects and testify his affection for the government. Dr. Cole conversing with the

mayor, could not refrain from communicating to him, in the overflowing of his zeal, the business with which he was charged; and so taking out of his cloakbag a leather box, "Here," said he, "is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland," calling the Protestants by that title. The woman of the house being well disposed to the Protestant religion and having a brother named John Edmonds, who professed the same creed, resident in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words. But watching her opportunity, while the mayor took his leave, and the doctor was complimenting him down stairs, she opens the box, and takes the commission out, placing instead of it a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost, wrapped up in a sheet of paper. The doctor returning to his chamber, and not suspecting the trick, put up his box as before, and on the next day sailed for Dublin, where he arrived on the seventh of October, 1558. Repairing directly to the castle, he presented the box to the lord lieutenant in full council, who ordered the secretary to read her majesty's commission; but when the box was opened, it was found to contain nothing but a pack of cards, to

the astonishment not only of the lord deputy and council, but of Dr. Cole himself, who assured them solemnly that he had a commission, but could not tell what had gone with it. Then the lord deputy answered, "Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean time." The doctor much confounded went his way, and returning to England, obtained another commission; but while he waited for the wind at the water side, news came to him that Queen Mary was dead, and thus God preserved the Protestants of Ireland. It is said that Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with hearing the story afterwards from the lord lieutenant, that she sent for the good woman, Elizabeth Edmonds, and settled on her a pension of forty pounds a year for life, for saving her majesty's Protestant subjects of Ireland.

§ 28.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION
IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The death of Queen Mary having put an end to the cruelties of her reign, her sister Elizabeth suc-

ceeded to the throne of England, on the seventeenth of November, 1558. One of the first measures of importance adopted by the new government with reference to the Irish Church, was the restoration of the use of the Church service in English. This had been introduced, as we have already seen, in the reign of Edward VI.; and in consequence an edition of the Book of Common Prayer had been published in Dublin, (being the first book ever printed in Ireland,) in A.D. 1551. But on the death of Edward VI. the English Liturgy ceased to be read publicly, nor was its use resumed here until several months after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. It was a part of the instructions given to her viceroy, the Earl of Sussex, on his coming to Ireland, in August, 1559, that he should "set up the worship of God as it is in England;" an injunction which the lord deputy appears to have faithfully obeyed.

The prospect however of a restoration of the reformed worship was little pleasing to the more bigoted of the Romish party; who were ready to go any length, or have recourse to any expedient, rather than resign without a struggle the use of the

Latin mass. The historian Strype gives us the following account (in his *Life of Archbishop Parker*) of the means which they made use of to throw discredit on the English service, and to prevent if possible, its introduction into the churches of Ireland.

According to the queen's instructions "the Litany was sung in English in Christ Church, Dublin. This gave great offence to some of the Popish zealous, reckoning aright, that the use of the mass was in danger of being laid aside in that cathedral. Something therefore was to be done, now or never, to keep the reputation of the old superstition ; and a miracle was to be shown in the said church the next Sunday, when the lord lieutenant, the archbishop, and the rest of the privy council, were there at service.

"There was in that cathedral an image of Christ in marble, standing with a reed in his hand, and the crown of thorns on his head. And while service was saying before this great assembly, blood was seen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the crucifix. The people did not perceive it at first ; therefore

some, who were in the fraud, cried out to one another, and bade them see, how our Saviour's image sweat blood ! Whereat several of the common people fell down with their beads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vast numbers flocked to the sight ; and one present, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of this cathedral, told the people the cause ; namely, ' that he could not choose but sweat blood, whilst heresy was then come into the Church.' The confusion hereupon was so great, that the assembly broke up. But the people still fell upon their knees, thumping their breasts ; and particularly one of the aldermen, and mayor of the city, whose name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the English service, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the rest before the image. The Lord Sussex and those of the privy council hastened out of the choir, fearing some harm.

“ But the archbishop of Dublin, being displeased, caused a form to be brought out of the choir, and bade the sexton of the church to stand thereon, and to search and wash the image, and see if it would bleed afresh. The man soon perceived the cheat,

observing a sponge within the hollow of the image's head. This sponge, one Leigh, some time a monk of this cathedral, had soaked in a bowl of blood; and early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the said sponge, so swollen and heavy with blood, over the image's head within the crown; and so, by little and little, the blood soaked through upon the face. The sponge was presently brought down, and shewed to those worshippers; and some of them cursed Father Leigh, who was soon discovered, and three or four others that had been contrivers with him.

“The archbishop, the next Sunday, preached in the same church, before the lord lieutenant and the council, upon II. Thess. ii. 11,—*God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie*: exposing the cheats, who openly stood there with Father Leigh, upon a table before the pulpit, with their hands and legs tied, and the crime written on their breasts. This punishment they suffered three Sundays, were imprisoned for some time, and then banished the realm. This converted above one hundred persons present, who swore they would never hear mass more.

“And further, upon the tenth of September, 1559, the archbishop caused this image to be broken down, although he himself had caused it to be set up at his coming to that see, after it had been pulled down once before by George Browne, the former archbishop, in King Edward’s time.”

Archbishop Curwen also wrote a letter at this time to Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, giving him an account of these extraordinary proceedings. Parker was very much interested in hearing of the circumstances of the case, because at this time it was much debated among the clergy whether images should be allowed to remain in the churches or no: the queen herself being indifferent about the matter, and rather disposed to countenance the retaining of them. But Archbishop Parker, having shewn her the letter of the archbishop of Dublin, found it of great use, (in conjunction with many texts of Scripture, which had been pressed on her attention,) in prevailing with her majesty to allow the removal of the images out of churches. The occurrence at Christ Church had also probably a great effect on the lord lieutenant himself, in making him more active and strenuous in re-establishing the use of the English liturgy.

In a parliament holden at Dublin, under the lord deputy Sussex, in the following January, 1560, two very important statutes were enacted, affecting the state of religion in Ireland. 1. The first of these was one establishing the queen's supremacy and abolishing for ever all manner of foreign power jurisdiction and authority within the realm : it also required that the oath of supremacy acknowledging the queen and her successors to be alone possessed of supreme authority in this realm, should be taken by all ecclesiastical persons, officers, and ministers, under penalty of forfeiture of office and promotion during life. 2. The second enactment here alluded to was that known as the Act of Uniformity, which enjoined that all ministers should use the English liturgy as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer ; and that all persons not having reasonable excuse, should resort to their parish churches on all Sundays and holidays, on pain of ecclesiastical censures, and a fine of twelve-pence to be levied by the Church wardens for the use of the poor. The new English service had so much in it of what was edifying and instructive, and was so free from objectionable matter, that the injunction

last mentioned was not at first regarded as any great grievance by the papal party. On the contrary, the bishops complied with this alteration in the public worship : and the adherents of the Romish Church in Ireland resorted to the parish churches, where the English service was used, during a great part, if not the whole, of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Unhappily however, among the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, there was introduced one of a most injudicious character and mischievous tendency. By the last clause of this statute it was enacted, "That in every church or place where the the common minister or priest hath not the use or knowledge of the *English* tongue, it shall be lawful for the same common minister or priest, to say and use the mattins, evensong, celebration of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer in the *Latin* tongue." And the preface to this clause tells us that the reason for such an enactment was "that in most places of this realm, there could not be found English ministers to serve in the churches . . and that if some good mean were provided that they might use the prayer,

service, and administration of sacraments set out and established by this act, in such language as they might best understand, the due honor of God should be thereby much advanced : *and for that also that the same may not be in their native language*, as well for difficulty to get it printed, as that few in the whole realm can read the Irish letters."

The many inconsistencies of this unfortunate enactment have been justly censured by various authors. It was a further attempt at carrying out that mischievous policy which had already displayed itself in the act of Henry VIII. for the encouragement of "the English order, habit, and language," (see page 261,) and which aimed at the improvement of the Irish by forcing them to the use of a language and customs that were strangers to the affections of their hearts. Such violence done to innocent national prejudices, even had there been no worse compromise of principle in the act, could not but have done much injury, in alienating the minds of the people from those who came before them with professed desires for their welfare. Had the ready compliance of their bishops with the Reformation, (of which presently,) and the general

acquiescence of the people in the liturgical changes introduced by it, been strengthened by friendly counsels addressed to them in the language which they loved, and had they enjoyed the use of prayer, and opportunities of hearing the pure Word of God read and preached among them in that tongue, the bishop of Rome would then have found little space left in after times, for again planting his broad and heavy foot on the green soil of Ireland; and his emissaries might presently have looked among us in vain, for associates of their impiety and treason.

But by sad infatuation, the language which the people "might best understand," was at this important crisis neglected by the government, and one utterly unintelligible to them used in its place. Whatever advantages might be found in a Latin translation of the Liturgy, as being composed in the usual language of their devotions, and so calculated to conciliate the people more than the English, or in the removal of idolatrous forms of worship by this alteration, they could little justify the use of either English or Latin among those who did not understand those languages; such an introduction of unknown tongues in public worship

being "plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the primitive Church."

At length Queen Elizabeth, or some of her best advisers, seem either to have despaired of success in this way, or to have discerned the vanity of such methods. For about the year 1571, the queen provided, at her own expense, a printing-press with a fount of *Irish* types, "in hope that God in mercy would raise up some to translate the New Testament into their mother tongue." These Irish types were immediately sent over to Mr. Nicholas Walsh, chancellor, and Mr. John Kearney, treasurer of St. Patrick's, Dublin.* Mr. Kearney commenced by composing a catechism in Irish, which was the first book printed in Ireland in that character. About the same period, Chancellor Walsh, who was afterwards bishop of Ossory, began the translation of the New Testament; the work was however interrupted by his death; but afterwards completed by William Daniel, archbishop of Tuam, and published in A.D. 1602. The Book of Common

* See Anderson's *Memorial on behalf of the Native Irish*—London, 1815; from which most of what relates to the Irish language, in this section, is abridged.

Prayer was also translated into Irish, and printed at the expense of this archbishop in A.D. 1608-9. For the translation of the Old Testament we are indebted to the Christian zeal of the excellent and venerable Bishop Bedell. He, though an Englishman by birth, who had never resided in Ireland, until he was made provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in A.D. 1627, acquired the knowledge of the Irish language at the advanced age of fifty-seven; and lived to complete the superintendence of the translation of the books of the Old Testament. He died in A.D. 1641, the year after that in which he had finished that important work: his translation of the sacred Scriptures was not however published until 1665; when it was printed with Irish types provided by the bounty of the Hon. Robert Boyle: the former types which had been used for the printing of the New Testament and other books, having been procured by the Jesuits, and by them carried over to Douay, for the express purpose of promoting their own views in Ireland, through the medium of the Irish language.

The circulation of the sacred Scriptures in Irish among the people has been productive of much

good, in enlightening the ignorant, and enabling them to discern between the divine truths of Christianity and the superstitious traditions of the Romish Church: and great numbers have by this means been led to separate from the new connexion established among them by the Romish party in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to return to the Church of their ancient forefathers and early saints: to enjoy in its communion the privileges of pure worship, sound doctrine, and religious liberty, bequeathed to them by the first planters of Christianity in this country.

But to return to the transactions of Queen Elizabeth's reign, from which we have been making a digression; it is to be mentioned here, that about the period of it which just now occupied our attention, i.e. in A.D. 1560, a large Bible, the gift, as it is related, of Doctor Heath, archbishop of York, to the two deans and chapters of Dublin, was placed in the middle of the choir of each cathedral of Christ Church and St. Patrick's; where on their being first offered to public view, they caused a great resort of the people thither, to read and hear their contents.

It was a singular advantage enjoyed by the friends of reformation in the Irish Church at this time, that they were not driven to the necessity of acting in defiance of the constituted authorities of that Church. They enjoyed on the contrary the sanction and co-operation of its prelates, for when the pope's jurisdiction was renounced, and the work of reformation established by the enactment of the parliament of 1560 above mentioned, *two only out of NINETEEN of the Irish bishops who were present, refused to sanction these enactments.* These two were, Walsh, bishop of Meath, and Leverous, bishop of Kildare, both of whom refused to take the oath of supremacy; the former also preached against it, and against the Book of Common Prayer. They were in consequence deprived of their bishoprics. Leverous afterwards supported himself by keeping a school in Limerick; but Walsh whose offence was considered more serious, was first imprisoned and afterwards banished: he died subsequently in Spain.

So far as these prelates were influenced by conscientious motives, they claim respect and sympathy, even from those who feel their cause to have

been a bad one, and their removal from the dignities which they had enjoyed a necessary step, that they might be able no longer to inculcate into the minds of the people from the seat of authority, their unsound, antisciptural, anticonstitutional, antinational principles. We cannot however forget that both these bishops were only served as they themselves had served others; that they had been irregularly intruded into their respective sees during the reign of Queen Mary, while the rightful occupants were still living; and that Walsh and Leverous had assisted in depriving other bishops of their sees for the grievous offence they had been guilty of in being married men. (See page 289.) With the exception of these two individuals, all the Irish bishops of that time remained in their respective sees, and from them the present orthodox or Protestant bishops have derived their orders, being the true and unquestionable successors of the ancient Irish Church. The persons who occupied the sees at Queen Elizabeth's succession are for the most part known, from historical records, (as also the manner in which the sees became vacant afterwards, whether by death, translation,

or otherwise.) An enumeration of the several cases may be seen in Bishop Mant's *History of the Irish Church*, Vol. 1, Appendix ii.

Thus it appears that the Romish prelates, (that is, the persons who were the bishops of the Church of Ireland during the prevalence of Romanism in Ireland,) at the period of the Reformation did not think it unlawful or unsafe to transmit their episcopal office to Protestant successors, or to bequeath the government and charge over the Church which had been entrusted to them, to persons who like the ancient bishops and saints of Ireland, considered themselves independent of the bishop of Rome, and at liberty to act in opposition to his authority, where it enjoined or sanctioned what they esteemed contrary to the Word of God.

And accordingly we see that Archbishop Browne, himself a supporter of the Reformation, was consecrated by Romish bishops in England: and in the consecration of Archbishop Goodacre and Bishop Bale, (see page 281,) he was assisted by Eugene Magennis, the Romish bishop of Down and Connor. And in like manner Curwen, archbishop of Dublin, a Romish prelate, who had been

appointed in Queen Mary's time, did much to promote the Reformation in the reign of her successor ; and by him Adam Loftus, who was advanced to the archbishopric of Armagh in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was consecrated to his episcopal office, on the second of March, 1563. The name of Archbishop Loftus is well known for his exertions in procuring the establishment of the Dublin University ; for which he obtained a royal charter from Queen Elizabeth, dated March 3, 1592.

§ 29.—OF THE ATTEMPTS MADE IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN TO THROW OFF THE ENGLISH YOKE, AND TO CRUSH THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND—THE EARL OF DESMOND'S REBELLION.

So far as we have yet considered the transactions in Ireland connected with religion during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we have seen the work of reformation advancing in an orderly manner in the Church, under the sanction of its chief governors, and circumstances seemed to promise fairly for

the general establishment of the reformed religion among the people of this country. It was not to be supposed however that the bishop of Rome could submit quietly and without a struggle to the alternative of thus losing all his influence and usurped authority in our land, or that he was at all so ceremonious a guest as to rise and take his departure when told that his company could be dispensed with.

Nor was he at a loss for active and influential agents here, ready to promote his objects and enter into his plans. For first, many of the great lords of the soil, whose restless disposition was impatient of the restraints imposed on their despotic authority by the English sovereignty, were ready to engage in any design, that might hold out to them the hope of regaining their barbarous freedom, and living as independent princes, lording it over their wretched vassals as they might please, and avenging their quarrels with each other by plunder and war, while their unhappy dependents were forced to yield implicit obedience to their arbitrary authority, take the field at their bidding, and live consequently in continual jeopardy of life and property. These chieftains

found religion to be an useful handmaid to their political purposes, and although (as was said of one of them long since*) they for the most part cared as little about it as did their horses, yet was it found a plausible name with which to connect their selfish designs, and a convenient bond of union between them and those other powerful allies of their cause, the ecclesiastical and foreign party, who entirely sympathised with them in their hatred of the reformed religion, and the English nation.

It appears to have been the case that while the great body of the bishops of our Church embraced and supported the Reformation in this country, many of the clergy refrained from following their example, and showed their attachment for the Romish religion by refusing to concur in the decision of their Church. Thus many Irish priests were led to join the bishop of Rome in his endeavours to unsettle the peace of this country, and the establishment of the reformed faith. Then also, there were to be found here other intrusive missionaries sent by the pope himself, who came to oppose the sovereign, the laws, and the Church of

* This was said of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, by the Earl of Essex.

this kingdom, and who arrogated for themselves the jurisdiction, and usurped the titles, of the lawful prelates ; and these bishops, with Jesuits, friars, legates, vicars apostolic, and other agents of the bishop of Rome, though they gained not the great object of their ambition in utterly subverting our Church, were yet most successful in exciting war and tumult, rebellion and bloodshed, and overwhelming the country with most calamitous disasters for many years, till at length, by such unholy means, a permanent schism was established in the Church of Ireland, and a new ecclesiastical fabric raised in the country, whose foundations were laid in violence and treason.

Among the different families at that time settled in Ireland, who distinguished themselves during the troubles of Elizabeth's reign, by opposition to her government, and co-operation with her foreign enemies on various occasions, two especially are deserving of particular notice for the part taken by them in these transactions ; the Geraldines or Desmonds of Munster, and the O'Neills of Ulster.

The family feeling of the O'Neills towards Eng-

land is sufficiently illustrated by what is recorded of Con O'Neill, who enjoyed at the time of Henry VIII. the chief dignity among his kinsmen : for of him we read that he pronounced a curse on any of the name of O'Neill, that should ever conform to the English manners, or associate with the Saxons; and of his son John it is said that he hanged one of his followers for having so far degenerated from his native manners as to feed on English biscuit. Yet the principal members of the family were often found to live on friendly terms with the English government, in some cases from policy and conscious inability to resist, in others perhaps from a sounder motive, suggested by experience, that little could ever be gained by their disputes with such a power. Con himself, notwithstanding his own curse, had made most ample submission to Henry VIII., having visited him at Greenwich for the purpose, accompanied by the bishop of Clogher, in 1542. It was just after the statute had been proclaimed in Dublin, which asserted for the king of England the title of *king*, instead of *lord*, of Ireland;* an act which was followed at once by the

* The pope had long since conferred the title of *king* of Ireland, as we have already seen, on Henry II. and his son John. This title however

submission of all the Irish chieftains, who renounced entirely the pope's authority, and took the oath of allegiance to the king. On this occasion Con O'Neill surrendered all his estates and Irish titles, agreed to adopt the English habit, manners, and language, and to assist the king against his enemies; upon which he received many marks of favour from the king, had his estates granted to him by a patent from his majesty, and in return for the Irish title of THE O'NEILL which he had renounced, he was created Earl of Tyrone. He also obtained for his illegitimate son Mathew, the title of Baron of Dungannon; his two legitimate sons, John and Hugh, being slighted in this matter in consequence of his partiality for Matthew.

Hence there afterwards arose wars between Matthew and his rival brothers, and in the reign of

seems to have fallen entirely into disuse in the time of Henry VIII., and an opinion then prevailed among the Irish, that the royal rights of the kingdom of Ireland always belonged to the bishop of Rome for the time being, and that the king of England was but a governor under him, with the title of *lord of Ireland*; this notion caused the Irish to pay more respect to the bishop of Rome than to the king of England, and therefore the change here mentioned was made by authority of Parliament, and proclaimed publicly: an act which caused much general satisfaction, as it was hoped that it would tend to settle the state of the country and promote order and quietness among the people.

Queen Mary, the old Earl Con dying, and his son Matthew having been assassinated by the followers of his brother John, the latter assumed the dignity of the rightful O'Neill, and from his great influence with his family and connexions, was able to support the claim while he lived. Having been summoned in 1559 by Sir H. Sidney to account for his conduct, he stated his case so firmly and shrewdly, that the lord deputy was convinced of the necessity of avoiding the application of any harsh measures at that time; and John O'Neill was accordingly permitted to remain for the present in possession of his assumed authority.

The discontent produced in many quarters by the establishment of the Reformation in 1560, excited to fresh daring the bold spirit of John O'Neill, who was looked up to by many of the malcontents as their natural leader, and encouraged by the pope and king of Spain to become the champion of the Church. He readily therefore took up arms in the cause, but being reduced to submission by the Duke of Sussex, in 1561, he was forced to appear before the queen in London, in the year following, to explain his cause. She received him kindly,

listened with apparent attention to the statement of his wrongs, and his professions of loyalty to her person, and dismissed him with a valuable present. After this he for some time acted as her faithful ally ; but his turbulent and restless spirit led him again to insurrection in 1563, and some slight successes in the expedition having raised his expectations to hope for further and greater triumphs, he sent agents into Munster and Connaught to invite Desmond and the other Irish chieftains to unite with him, and ambassadors also to the pope and king of Spain, to solicit aid from them. But his career of prosperity was short ; reverses soon occurred to humble his pride ; and at last in June 1567, he was basely assassinated, while at an entertainment in a tent, by an English officer named Piers. Soon after an act of attainder was passed against the late John O'Neill, and his property, comprehending more than half the lands in Ulster, vested in the queen and her successors.

Meanwhile other parts of Ireland were also in a very disordered state from the constant feuds and quarrels which prevailed among the different nobles of the land. Gerald earl of Desmond, and Thomas

earl of Ormond, were at war with each other, and in a battle fought at Affane, in Waterford, in February, 1564, the former had been defeated with the loss of three hundred men, and himself taken prisoner. Soon after the two earls appeared before the queen to submit their disputes to her, and by her intervention a reconciliation was effected.

Shortly after the assassination of John O'Neill, however, fresh disputes arose between the Geraldines and the Ormond family ; whereupon the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, proceeded to Youghal to hear the complaints of the contending parties ; and found occasion severely to reprimand the earl of Desmond for the misery and devastation he had spread through the country. Desmond replied with insolent and threatening language, in consequence of which he was arrested by the lord deputy, and with his brother Sir John of Desmond, committed to the tower in London.

These proceedings irritated much the family of the Geraldines ; and James Fitzmaurice (or James Geraldine) a near kinsman of the earl of Desmond, was determined if possible to be avenged on the government ; in order to which he took up arms

and attacked such as were considered to be of their supporters. He also with other confederated rebels despatched the titular bishops of Cashel and Emly, in 1568, as ambassadors to the pope and king of Spain, to implore aid and assistance for rescuing their religion and country from the tyranny and oppression, as they represented it, of Queen Elizabeth. Shortly after, in the latter end of February, 1569, Pope Pius V. fulminated his bull of excommunication against her majesty, by which, as the Romish historian O'Sullevan states it, the queen "was deservedly pronounced a heretic, and the power of seizing on her kingdom given to others. Whereupon," the same author tells us, "arms are taken up by numbers of the Irish in defence of their religion: every thing is laid waste and overrun with fire and sword. In which tempests and billows how many Irishmen perished for the law of Christ, heaven knows."* Meanwhile Fitzmaurice and his associates began to spread rapine and devastation through Munster, and meeting with some success and encouragement at the outset, his hopes were raised to think of the prospect of extirpating the

* O'Sullevan, *Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ compendium*. T. 2. l. i. c. 3.

English power at last ; and he therefore sent fresh messengers to the pope and king of Spain to hasten the succours which he was expecting from them. His successes however lasted not long, and by the vigorous proceedings of Sir John Perrot, president of Munster, against him, he was forced to make his submission in Kilmallock Church, in Limerick.

In A.D. 1573 the earl of Desmond and his brother were freed from their imprisonment in the tower of London, and sent over to Dublin to live as state prisoners with the mayor, under heavy securities. Being allowed however considerable liberty, they, under pretence of hunting, found means to escape to their friends in Munster, where they were joyfully received by their old associates, and gladdened by recent tidings from Rome and Spain, encouraging them to persevere in their opposition to Elizabeth's government. Desmond was now proclaimed a traitor, and a reward offered for his apprehension.

The earl however managed for the present to elude the efforts of government, and, in A.D. 1575, when the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, made a tour of Ireland for the purpose of establishing

order in the country, and receiving the submission of the chieftains, the earl of Desmond, upon returning to his allegiance, was once more received into favour at Dungarvan; and shortly after was on such good terms with the government and so much trusted by them, that when Sir William Drury, in 1576, succeeded Sir J. Perrot as president of Munster, he was admitted to a place in the council.

About this time we find James Fitzmaurice again busily engaged in planning further schemes of rebellion and treason, and visiting foreign courts with this object in view. O'Sullivan gives us the following account of his movements.

“While these matters are going on in Ireland, James Geraldine, of whom we have already spoken at large, having come into Spain, sets before his Catholic majesty, Philip II., an account of the state of affairs in Ireland, and implores aid from him for the Catholics. He then travels through France to Rome; where there was resident at this time, Cornelius Omelrian, an Irish Franciscan, and bishop of Killaloe, and Thomas Stukely, who was looked upon by some as being an illegitimate

son of King Henry VIII. of England, by others as the offspring of an English knight by an Irish mother, and by others as entirely an Irishman. The latter was earnestly imploring aid against the English, in the name of the people of Ireland; being influenced to do so, either from resentment towards the English, or from motives of piety, or from a taste for changes and war, and the hope of gaining some advantages from them, or aiming at royal power, as one who was possibly of royal blood. There was also living there Doctor Sanders, the pride of the English nation, a refugee from the tyranny of his countrymen, in consequence of his having written a book on the Anglican schism. At this time there were several troops of robbers infesting Italy in a sad way; who used to break forth at night from the woods and mountains in which they lay concealed, to spread destruction through the villages with their plundering excursions, and way-lay and rob the travellers on the roads. James entreats the supreme pontiff, Gregory XIII., to succour the Catholic Church in Ireland, now tottering to its fall; and at length obtained from him a pardon for those robbers, on

this condition, that they should set out with him for Ireland; and so, of these and others he collected a thousand soldiers, more or less. And over these the supreme pontiff appointed for leaders, Hercules of Pisa, a person eminent for courage and military experience, and other Roman soldiers; who having embarked on board ship with Bishop Cornelius and Dr. Sanders, James directs Stukely to take the command of them to Lisbon, and there wait for himself, till he should bring his wife, whom he had left in France. Stukely setting sail from Italy, comes to Lisbon with a favourable wind, just as the illustrious Sebastian, king of Portugal, was setting out on his expedition against Morocco. The king requests of Stukely that he would cross over with him to Morocco, promising that after his return he would either himself embark for Ireland with Stukely, or at all events that he would supply him with more abundant troops for asserting the liberty of that island. Stukely, accepting these terms with all possible readiness, falls by the arms of the barbarians in that celebrated slaughter of the Portuguese, in which fell also the illustrious King Sebastian of that eminent nation. The Italians

who survived the slaughter, return to Spain, whither James too had come by this time; who being joined by the Italians that were left after the Moorish slaughter, had now eight hundred men; with one Sebastian San Josepho for their captain, (as Michael ab Isselto informs us,) who was appointed by a decree of the supreme pontiff. These having embarked in six vessels with plentiful military stores, ordnance, and arms to equip four thousand Irish, James, with Bishop Cornelius and Dr. Sanders, weigh anchor, and crossing from Spain to Ireland with a good passage, land at Ardnaccan port, called by the English Smerwick, near the town of Dingle.”*

Thus were the unfortunate Irish, through the evil misleadings of selfish and designing men, seduced to become associates of the degraded robbers and assassins of Italy; and the sword reeking from the blood of the innocent peasant of the Alps, was sanctified by the blessing of one who called himself the chief shepherd on earth of the fold of our blessed and gentle Saviour, to engage in scenes of fresh wickedness, and exterminate from this land

* O'Sullivan. Hist. Cath. Tom. 2. Lib. iv. cap. 15.

all who dared to persist in obedience to the Word of God, and the sacred authority of their lawful monarch.

The pope showed his great zeal for this work, and his strong hopes of success, by taking upon him to create Stukely marquis of Leinster, earl of Wexford and Carlow, viscount Murrough, and baron of Ross! This pontiff also issued a bull in favour of James Fitzmaurice, exhorting all the Irish prelates, princes, nobles, and people, to aid him in his efforts to assert their liberty and defend holy Church; promising to all who should engage in this war, *the same indulgences as were usually granted to persons who set out on the expedition against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels.** Among these indulgences was expressly included a PLENARY PARDON AND REMISSION OF ALL THEIR SINS.

James Geraldine however was not long allowed to pursue his career of treason. Shortly after landing, he had been joined by Sir John and Sir

* See Appendix II. where this bull is quoted in the bull of Pope Gregory addressed to the Irish in favour of Sir John of Desmond.

James Fitzgerald, brothers of the earl of Desmond; the earl himself however did not as yet venture to declare himself in favour of the rebels. While things were in this state, Fitzmaurice having set out on an expedition from the fort at Smerwick, encountered in Limerick a party of the loyal; and an engagement ensuing, the leader James and many of his followers were killed, and one of the most active of the conspirators thus became the first victim of his own mischievous intrigues.

Upon this Sir John of Desmond was appointed to succeed to the command of the force at Smerwick; and some time after Pope Gregory, having been informed of these circumstances, was pleased to ratify this new appointment, and to issue a fresh bull renewing to Sir John all the privileges lately enjoyed by his kinsman, full remission of sins for his followers, indulgences similar to those given to persons engaging in the war with the Turks, &c.* This bull is dated May 13, 1580, It describes Sir John of Desmond as “our well beloved son, John Geraldine, a person of eminent piety and bravery, gifts bestowed on him by God, whose cause is con-

* See Appendix II. where this bull is given entire.

cerned in this war." He was however a man of base and infamous character, who when suspected of treachery by his own rebel associates, at once satisfied them of his sincerity, and disgusted the more highminded among them, by murdering in cold blood with his own hand, Henry Danvers, high sheriff of the county of Cork, a man of high character and amiable disposition, who had ever been most friendly to the Desmonds, and had lived on terms of the nearest intimacy with Sir John in particular.

The earl of Desmond still maintained his apparent loyalty ; but being convicted of keeping up a treasonable correspondence with the Spaniards, he was for this offence arrested, but soon again released on renewing his oath of allegiance to the queen. It was not long however till his turbulent and rebellious disposition led him to engage again in open treason, and he and his brothers, Sir James and Sir John, with all their adherents, were proclaimed traitors and rebels ; and in this state they continued, wretched and troublesome outlaws, to the time of their deaths, wandering in the woods,

or living by such plunder as they could seize from straggling parties of the queen's troops.

When Sir John of Desmond first took the command, he had considerable forces, and was able to maintain his ground for several weeks, and even gained some advantages. In one of his engagements with the queen's forces, Allen, an Irish Jesuit, who had come from Rome not long since, took a conspicuous part, displaying a banner consecrated by the pope, and encouraging the Irish and Spaniards with the strongest assurances of victory; notwithstanding his efforts however, his party were at length defeated with the loss of two hundred and sixty men, and himself likewise killed in the action.

In the beginning of 1580, Sir James of Desmond having been mortally wounded in an action near Cork, was taken to that city and executed as a traitor: in the same action one hundred and fifty of the Desmond's men were slain. In the beginning of the year 1581, his brother Sir John was in like manner taken prisoner, after having been mortally wounded by Zouch governor of Cork: he died on his way to the city. And at last, in

1583, the wretched earl of Desmond himself was killed in Kerry by a party of soldiers, who were set to watch some property from which he had been plundering cattle. He had been invited by the lords justices in the preceding year to return to his allegiance, a proposal which he contemptuously rejected. The traitorous legate Sanders had already met with a miserable end: after two years wandering in the woods he was found dead and mangled by beasts. Such were the unhappy ends to which the principal leaders of this wicked and ill-concerted rebellion came: and their followers participated in their disastrous fate: a dreadful instance of this occurs in the case of the garrison at Smerwick.

The Spaniards and their allies had built themselves at Smerwick a fort which they called Fort de l'Or, or the Golden Fort: and when this was besieged in 1580 by the lord deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, and the garrison summoned to surrender, the Spanish governor San Josepho made answer, "that they held it for the pope and the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given the kingdom of Ireland," in consequence of which they were determined to defend it to the last: a violent stor-

ming from the assailants however soon obliged them to surrender at discretion. The Spaniards were then cruelly put to death on the spot by a party of soldiers under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh : an act at which the queen is said to have expressed the strongest displeasure. The act appears to have been performed by command of Lord Grey, who was a man of an arbitrary and harsh disposition : he attempted however to justify his conduct by the necessity of the case, his party having no prisons there to receive the captives, and large reinforcements of the enemy being expected ; while the Spaniards not being able to shew any commission from the king of Spain, could be looked on only as private adventurers, who could claim no advantage from the law of nations.*

* Fort de l'Or, Smerwick, July 8, 1843.—I have to-day visited this place for the second time : it is about four miles from Ventry, to the north. No remains of the buildings here are left, except the outline, with some small parts of the demolished walls. The people around still call the place *Dhunanór*, (i.e. Fort of Gold,) which is but a translation into Irish, of the original name : the fort consists of a very high peninsula on the bay of Smerwick, joined to the high cliffs near by a narrow neck of the rock. It is all covered with luxuriant grass, the finest verdure in this part of the country ; and the lotus and primrose, the daisy and orchis, add much to its natural beauty. One could almost fancy its luxuriance arose from the human blood shed here. The people have many traditions about

The rebellion in Munster having terminated in the death of the Earl of Desmond, his immense estates which extended through the counties of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and Kerry, were soon after confiscated, and declared in a parliament holden in 1586, to be forfeited to the queen: in the distribution of these lands, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a large grant, including a great part of the town of Youghal, where he lived many years, and was the first to introduce into Ireland the culture of potatoes and the use of tobacco.

§ 30.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.—THE
REBELLION OF HUGH, EARL OF TYRONE.

We must not suppose that the disturbances with which queen Elizabeth's government in Ireland had to contend, were at an end when the Earl of Desmond's insurrection was suppressed. On the contrary, fresh troubles were ready to succeed into their

the place, some of them tolerably correct. I write this note on the grassy bank of the fort projecting over the sea. The circumference is about one hundred yards. R. K.

place, and a more violent and dangerous rebellion occupied the attention and cares of government in the latter years of her reign. Many of the disaffected Irish lords were engaged in this design; but the one who acted the most conspicuous part was Hugh, earl of Tyrone, whose great prudence, powerful abilities of mind, family influence, and immense property, were well calculated to render him a suitable leader in such an undertaking.

This Hugh O'Neill was the son of Matthew, already mentioned, who had been created Lord Dungannon by Henry VIII. The apparent steadiness of his friendship for the English government was such as to induce the queen to listen favourably to a petition which he presented to her in 1587, requesting that he might be restored to the ancient honours of his family; and he was accordingly granted anew the title of Earl of Tyrone, and the large inheritance annexed to it, which had been forfeited to the crown by the attainder of the late John O'Neill. Nevertheless while Spain was preparing her enormous fleet, the armada, to come and invade our shores in A.D. 1588, Hugh O'Neill was at the same time silently concerting his hostile

plans, and secretly endeavouring to engage others of the Irish chieftains to join in them : he was also preparing his own followers by training them to the use of arms, and collecting ammunition for the service he had in prospect before him. O'Donnel prince of Tyrconnel (or Donegal as it is now called) was one of his principal allies in these schemes ; and Maguire, the lord of Fermanagh, was another powerful assistant.

Still however motives of policy induced O'Neill to dissemble and wear the garb of a loyal subject for many years, until 1595, when the vigorous proceedings of the English government, in strengthening their power in his territory, led him to throw off the mask and engage in open insurrection at the head of large united forces. He then sent also emisaries into Spain to ask for new aid from thence. The chieftain Maguire had already been in arms against the government in the preceeding year, and at the request of the titular archbishop of Armagh had entered Connaught to excite commotion there. This titular, whose name was Magauran, lived for the most part with Maguire : he was employed by the pope as his agent for the

purpose of exciting the Irish to exertions in the cause of the Romish religion : and when Maguire, at his instigation, invaded Connaught, the proclaimed traitor was accompanied by this warlike prelate, who fell, with many of his followers, in the first engagement.

Various encounters, negociations, and changes of success, between O'Neill and the English, continued to go on for some years, until, in 1598, a violent and bloody battle took place between the two parties in the month of August, where the English army was routed with great loss, leaving fifteen hundred men dead or wounded, and all their ammunition and military stores in the hand of the enemy : the loss of the earl's army amounted to eight hundred killed and wounded. This decisive advantage gained by the insurgents was sufficient to excite commotion throughout all Ireland : many more of the Irish princes joined O'Neill's standard, including the Geraldines who had lately forfeited their lands in Desmond's rebellion : and in consequence of the alarming state of affairs in Ireland, with the threatenings of Spain, twenty thousand men were appointed under the earl of Essex to come and restore order in the country.

The earl arrived in Dublin in April 1599. His military operations against the rebels were of little importance; and in a mischievous conference between him and O'Neill, a truce of six weeks was agreed upon: the earl of Tyrone expecting further supplies from Spain, and not wishing, with all his advantages, to engage in battle before they had arrived. Their coming however was not long delayed; for Matthew Oviedo, a Spanish friar whom the pope had nominated archbishop of Dublin, landed presently with a large supply of money and ammunition, and promises of immediate and powerful reinforcements from Spain. O'Sullivan gives the following account of his arrival.—“In a few days there came into Ulster, Friar Matthew Oviedo, a Spaniard, archbishop of Dublin, and Martin Cerda, a noble Spanish knight, bringing from the pope indulgences and remission of sins for all that would take up arms in defence of the faith against the English; and for O'Neill, a phoenix plume, and from his Catholic majesty Philip III. (for the second of that name was now dead) twenty-two thousand pieces of gold for the payment of soldiers.”*

* Hist. Cath. Hib. Tom. 3, Lib. iv. cap. 12.

These fresh advantages and promises so raised the spirits of the earl of Tyrone, or THE O'NEILL, as he was now called, that he recommenced hostilities as soon as the truce had expired, and sent forth a proclamation to all his countrymen, calling upon them to forsake heresy and defend their country's liberty and the Catholic faith. But in the following year (1600) Lord Mountjoy having been appointed chief-governor of Ireland, commenced vigorous operations against the rebels, which greatly checked their progress, and reduced many of them to submission. To encourage them to greater zeal in the work, Pope Clement VIII. issued in this year a fresh bull in favour of Hugh O'Neill, "captain general of the Catholic army in Ireland," conferring upon him and his followers the same privileges as were formerly bestowed on the Geraldines, and "mercifully granting them in the Lord, plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, and the same indulgences as were wont to be allowed to persons engaging in the war with the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land."*

The vigorous movements of the new viceroy were

* See Appendix III. where this bull is given entire.

however continued with such steadiness and energy, that O'Neill's forces suffered greatly, sustaining many losses, and growing daily less formidable; while other commanders were equally successful in reducing the rebel army in Munster. But in the latter end of 1601 a large Spanish fleet arrived at Kinsale, and landed there five thousand additional troops under Don Juan d'Aquila, who took possession of the town, and immediately sent notice of their arrival to their friends in Ulster: two thousand additional troops were soon after landed at Castlehaven; and the northern chieftains, Tyrone and O'Donnel, having now arrived with fresh forces, the English army was hemmed in on all sides, and reduced to the last extremity, and must ere long have surrendered, had not the Spaniards from impatience hastened to engage in battle, instead of continuing to besiege their enemies: the result of this engagement was that the rebel forces were entirely routed and dispersed by an army vastly inferior in numbers.

Kinsale and the other towns lately held by the rebels were soon surrendered to the English army. Three thousand Spaniards were allowed to return

home free ; O'Donnel also retired into Spain, and O'Neill into Ulster. The latter chieftain was soon pursued thither also by the energetic viceroy, who at length obliged him, just at the period of Queen Elizabeth's death, to make his humble submission, and sue for pardon from her majesty.

Thus was terminated this destructive rebellion. From the brief account of it here given, my readers will be able to perceive why it was that Romish priests were sometimes treated with severity in Elizabeth's reign: it was not for their religion they were punished, as Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were in Mary's reign, but because they were engaged in acts of treason, rebellion, and insurrection against their lawful sovereign and her government. This is a fact which so far as it is connected with Ireland, is admitted even by prejudiced Romish historians ; an eminent one of whom asserts that in England indeed it was otherwise, but that " during her whole reign in Ireland we read of *no* imprisonment, banishment, or execution of any priest for the sake of his religion."* This statement is a sufficient refutation of many false and mischievous

* Plowden's History of Ireland. Book II. chap. iv.

stories, commonly circulated relative to the cruelty which this monarch is represented as having used towards the Romish priests in Ireland. The instances above given of their treasonable attempts against her government, are but some of many. Numerous other like cases might be added, as that of M'Egan, a Romish vicar-apostolic, who in the earl of Tyrone's rebellion, issued excommunications against all who should give quarter to prisoners taken from the queen's army, and at last fell in battle, leading a troop of horse, with his sword in one hand, and his breviary and beads in the other. But enough has been already said on this painful subject, and were it not necessary to explain these things for the sake of meeting misrepresentations as to the past, and affording admonitions for the present and the future, it would be a more agreeable task to endeavour to forget for ever such crimes of professing Christians, and efface from memory the cruel injuries done to our Church in former times by the head and members of the Church of Rome. To dwell on such subjects beyond what is absolutely necessary for the exposing of error, or to irritate the popular mind by

detailed accounts of the cruelties of by-gone days, as it is no fit employment for a Christian or a churchman, so neither is it any part of the object of the present work. It shows little of the spirit of Him who taught us to forgive as we hope to be forgiven; *to love our enemies, bless them that curse us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us*;* and it savours as little of the principles of our holy apostolic Church, whose faithful members are ever ready to join, with heartfelt earnestness, in the prayer which she puts into their mouths, that God would be pleased “to forgive our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, and to turn their hearts.”

§ 31.—FORMATION OF A NEW CHURCH IN IRELAND.—ORIGIN OF THE MODERN IRISH BRANCH OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.—CONCLUSION.

While the friends and allies of the Church of Rome in Ireland were making use of such violent

* St. Matt. v. 44.

efforts to overthrow by political convulsions the existing Church of Ireland, other means were at the same time resorted to for perpetuating in the country the existence of a body of persons subservient to the pope, and ready to promote his influence and extend his authority. Bishops were appointed by him to come and assume the titles of the Irish bishops who had embraced the Reformation; and to connect with themselves all whom they could persuade to join their communion and separate from the Reformed Irish Church.

It had often happened in this and other countries that disputes had arisen between the popes and the kings of those countries, about the appointment of bishops; and sometimes it came to pass that two rival claimants assumed the same title of a bishopric, one by authority of the king, the other depending on the pope. So when Henry VIII., for instance, had appointed Dowdall archbishop of Armagh, the latter, though a zealous adherent of the pope, could not obtain his sanction to the appointment, the pope having nominated a different person, named Waucop. In general however some circumstance decided, at least practically, in favour of one of the

claimants, such as the death of the other, local influence, &c. And so in the case of Dowdall, he was recognised by the Irish Church both in the reign of Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, as lawful primate.* At other times, as in the case of Archbishop Browne, the pope did not interfere with the king's authority by appointing another person.

But the disputes here alluded to, affected only particular bishoprics, and the persons appointed to fill them; not the state of the Church in general or its faith. Two rival candidates might be equally attached to the Romish religion, and yet one of them more pleasing to the pope. But when the Irish bishops in a body, agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of Queen Elizabeth, and reject the usurped authority of the pope, then more violent and more wholesale measures were resorted to by the bishops of Rome. The queen was declared a heretic, her subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance, and her dominions bestowed on the king of Spain. Richard Creagh, who had in some measure distinguished himself by exhorting the people to forsake the obedience of their bishops, and the

* See Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. 5, p. 48.

service of the Church, was ordained by the pope to the archbishopric of Armagh, and other bishops were by similar authority afterwards appointed to that and other sees in Ireland. Such was the original nucleus of the present Romish Church in Ireland; such its first bishops; they were at best but emissaries from the pope, and troublesome intruders in our Church and country, interfering with its liberty and peace; and their followers were but dissenters and separatists from the Church of Ireland. Such too are their descendants the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy with their followers to this day; nor have they even preserved their succession from those first bishops of theirs above mentioned. Their entire authority, appointment, and orders, are derived from the usurped power of a foreign prelate. None of them have ever been ordained by any bishops of the ancient Church of Ireland, nor can they possibly show themselves possessed of any succession from those bishops.

We have already seen by what unholy means and carnal weapons these first Romish prelates of the modern Romish Church in Ireland endeavoured to extend their sway and gather lambs into the

pretended fold of Christ. It is no wonder if many of the people from fear, and many from hatred of the English, and many from love for the old superstitions, connected themselves with the newly-formed Church and foreign influence. Nor can we forget that these evils were much aggravated by coldness and irreligion among many who had professedly embraced the Reformation, and by that culpable negligence and indiscretion, which provided no adequate means for instructing the people in the real principles of that pure and holy faith which they were invited to uphold.

King James I. who succeeded Queen Elizabeth came to the throne with many advantages ; all the people believing him a lawful king, with a sort of enthusiastic feeling, as he belonged to their own race, supposing that the blood of their ancient kings flowed in his veins ; for which very reason their ancestors had crowned Robert Bruce at Dundalk in A.D. 1315. Hence there followed on the accession of James, a peace of forty-one years, "such as Ireland had never seen before."* This monarch discouraged the Roman schism, and restrained its influence by severe enactments.

* See Columbanus, No. 2, pp. 46, 50.

Notwithstanding, efforts were made during his reign to carry on the work that had been commenced in Ireland in the time of the late queen, and to organize and perfect in some degree the newly-constructed Church that was in progress of formation in that country. An interesting account of the proceedings of the Romanists in connexion with this matter, is furnished by Philip O'Sullivan, the Romish author already quoted, who in the reign of King James was living as an exile at the court of Spain, where he published, in A.D. 1621, his rancorous and bitter production, entitled "A Compendium of the Catholic History of Ireland."

In this work O'Sullivan gives us an account of the assistance which had been supplied to the Irish by foreigners, and especially by the king of Spain, towards the support of the papal religion in Ireland; by educating the youth in seminaries established for that purpose, and training them for orders; and by contributing money for such purposes. He then says that many also of the rich and affluent Irish paid for the support of persons who were sent to be educated in [R.] Catholic countries, that they might return again to Ireland, and repair the losses sus-

tained by the influence of the Reformation. After which he proceeds to give the following account of the doings of the Romanists in Ireland itself at the time when he wrote.

“In Ireland likewise,” says this author, “there are some still attaching themselves to the religious orders ; still more are receiving ordination for the sacred office. These administer the sacraments, assist such as are firm in the faith, establish the wavering, support the falling, raise up the down-cast ; they expound the Holy Gospel, preach to the people, expose the artful designs of the heretics. The more frequently they are ordered to quit the kingdom, the more readily they remain in it, and even flock together to it. To avoid being observed by the English, they dress themselves in the apparel of lay persons, and represent themselves, some as merchants, or medical men, some as knights equipped with sword and dirk, others under other characters and pretences.

“But in order that there may be priests in all parts of the kingdom to attend to the cure of souls, a salutary plan has been set on foot ; for the better understanding of which we are to recollect, that in

Ireland there are four archbishoprics and a large number of bishoprics ; and that at the present day [A.D. 1621.] they are all held by ringleaders of heresy, [i.e. Protestant bishops,] and that [R.] Catholic prelates are not appointed to their titles unless in some few instances, for this reason, that without the ecclesiastical dues it seems that such a number of bishops could not support their rank and consequence. For which reason, four [titular] archbishops who have been consecrated by the Roman pontiff, are appointing priests, or clerks, or persons of the religious orders, for vicars-general in the suffragan bishoprics, with the sanction of the apostolic see. These latter again appoint others for the charge of the parish churches. And Eugene Macmagauran, the [titular] archbishop of Dublin, and David O'Carney, of Cashel, encountering great perils and immense labours, are personally feeding the sheep belonging to their archbishoprics. While Peter Lombard, [the titular] archbishop of Armagh, and Florence O'Melconry, of Tuam, (who for many reasons is unable to live safe from the English in Ireland,) have entrusted the care of their provinces to vicars."

Philip O'Sullivan then goes on to give a boastful account of the number of priests, friars, &c., to be found in Ireland, and of their incredible activity and zeal for their bad cause. We must note however that he is a writer whose words are not much to be depended on, where a falsehood will help his argument.

His account however of the first construction of the modern Irish branch of the Roman Church is curious and interesting, and appears such as may be depended on; as he was probably well acquainted with the movements of his party here mentioned, and seems in this place to state simple facts. It appears from his narrative that, in A.D. 1621, all the Irish sees were occupied by Protestants, and that there were but four bishops at that time connected with the Romish Church in Ireland; two living in Ireland, and the others in foreign countries.

That much evil was done to Ireland at this time from the working of foreign influence among us is a fact which is admitted even by Roman Catholic writers, and by some of the most eminent uphold-

ers of the pope's authority among them. That very Peter Lombard, of whom O'Sullevan speaks as being primate of Ireland at the time when he wrote, gives a very curious description of the mischievous intercourse which was kept up then between this country and Rome. Lombard resided for many years at Rome, where he died in 1626: he was private secretary and domestic chaplain to Pope Clement VIII., and a maintainer of the pope's right to *temporal* dominion over Ireland, and yet he grievously complains of the mischief of the extreme prevalence of foreign influence, and confesses with indignation and shame that those Irish clergy who flocked to Rome to obtain mitres and benefices in Ireland, were a disgrace to his country.* "They are," says he, "of the very vilest classes of our people; men who obtain preferment by every species of low cunning, drivelling sycophancy, and hypocrisy. They come carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands, over Alps and Apenines, *illotis pedibus*, on pretence of persecution, or of pilgrimage to Rome, from the most

barbarous parts of Ireland, ignorant, clownish, vile fellows, whose manners are utterly disgusting to all who see them, from their base servility and uncouthness of garb and address. When they arrive in Rome, they do not employ themselves in learning, but pass their days in scheming amongst each other, how they may obtain bulls of presentation to livings and preferments at home; and as soon as they succeed in obtaining a title to a benefice, they run back to Ireland, commence a lawsuit for possession, in virtue of the briefs obtained at Rome, and having finally succeeded, after a scandalous litigation, instead of attending their dioceses, they travel into Spain, France, and Germany, on pretence of persecution at home; and their whole study consists in soliciting pensions from those foreign courts, to enable them forsooth, to live abroad on a footing of grandeur suitable to the episcopal dignity, which they have obtained by sycophancy, intriguing, and adulation! This is extremely prejudicial to our country, and disgraceful to us in foreign parts, as well as disgusting to our own [R.] Catholic nobility at home; because those bishops are appointed without any regard to

the elections or recommendations of our gentry or clergy, but against the express desire of both.”*

Such language from a Protestant pen, would be attributed to rancour and prejudice ; but coming as it does from the pope’s own private secretary, and the Roman Catholic primate of all Ireland, it presents us with a lamentable view indeed of the miserable agency that was at that time at work for the distraction of Ireland, which could have forced even a Romanist, yet a high-minded one, to have expressed himself in such terms.

But Peter Lombard stands not alone ; another eminent Romanist of that age, Richard Stanihurst, uncle to archbishop Ussher, gives an account precisely similar, but more at large ; it is needless to insert his description here in full ; but one sentence is so curious that it at least must not be omitted—
 “And these wearisome petitions to the pope,” says Stanihurst, “are now-a-days becoming so common, that at present it is actually becoming a proverbial habit with the people of Rome, whenever they

* *Petri Lombardi Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ*. Lovanii. 1632. p. 296. This production is in the library of T.C.D. It was dedicated to Pope Clement VIII.

meet with any Irish beggar, to accost him with this facetious little question, ‘ Good Sir, have you come to seek for a bishopric ? ’ ”*

Thus we have seen how the foundations of the present Roman Catholic community were laid in Ireland in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and her successor King James I. In the following reign, that of King Charles I., still more shocking measures were resorted to for the purpose of utterly exterminating the Reformed Church of Ireland; *a wonderful and horrible thing was committed in the land*; and the annals of our country disgraced by one of the most foul and murderous transactions that ever stained the page of history. A conspiracy to massacre all the followers of the Reformation in Ireland, was hatched with diabolical malignity and the most profound secresy, until October 23, 1641, when it suddenly burst forth to deluge our land with blood. A hundred and fifty thousand are computed to have been slain in this conspiracy, and eighty thousand at the very first outbreak. On the occasion of this horrible and antichristian

* Ric. Stanihurst. de Rebus in Hib. gestis. Antwerp, 1584, page 8.
In Trinity College library.

wickedness, the Romish bishops and clergy of the province of Armagh, being summoned to a synod at Kells, by Hugh O'Neill, the titular primate, on March 22, 1642, declared the war, so they styled this rebellion, to be just and lawful; which was afterwards ratified in a general synod of their clergy held at Kilkenny on the tenth of May.

The learned Roman Catholic priest, Dr. O'Connor, whom I have had occasion to quote already so frequently, justly couples with "those who had imbibed the lower principles that produced the massacre of St. Bartholemew" in France, the men "who by the perusal of O'Sullivan's popular *Historia Catholica*,* were spirited up to martyrdom, not for religion, but for maxims of *treachery* and breach of faith, sanctified by the name of religion." These were the men who "confederated together to dissolve the connexion with England, and to subject Ireland to a foreign power; whose principles enlarged in the wild eloquence of which the Irish language is susceptible, by men who were qualified to take advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the people, all laid

* i. e. O'Sullivan's Catholic History of Ireland, already quoted.

the fatal foundation for the horrible explosion of 1641. The battle was no longer to be fought for the rights and privileges, and ancient lordships of the Irish chiefs; the feudal fabric of Ireland, the influence of the ancient Milesians, the pride of ancestry, all had been undermined and nearly annihilated by the policy of James I. A *plebeian* war, now for the first time, disgraced the land of our fathers.”*

Since the first foundations of the Romish Church in this country were laid in the manner above described, its bishops and priests have been doing all that lay in their power to extend its influence, and if possible to pass it off for the old Church of Ireland. The perusal of the preceding pages will however, it is hoped, assist the inquiring reader in judging how little their statements of this sort are to be depended upon.

King James I. was the author of many works on religious controversy and other subjects. He composed an able defence of the oath of allegiance, which attracted much attention, and drew forth answers from the most celebrated Jesuits of that time.

* Columbanus ad Hib. No. 4, pp. 114, 115, 116.

Many of the Romanist party became convinced of the lawfulness of the oath, but the pope would not allow them to act according to their consciences, but commanded them to refuse it, whatever they might think of its legality : he also told them that if they were punished with death for the disloyalty which he inculcated, they would be dying as martyrs for the Catholic faith.*

In A.D. 1666 a convocation of the Romish clergy was held in Dublin on the eleventh of June ; when it was expected that they would ask pardon for the rebellion of 1641, and give King Charles II. new assurance of their allegiance by taking an oath which was framed by their procurator, Peter Walsh, and called the “ Irish Remonstrance” or “ Loyal Formulary.” This remonstrance comprised an acknowledgment of the king as supreme lord and rightful sovereign of Ireland ; and of the necessity of obeying him in all civil and temporal affairs, notwithstanding any pretended power, sentence, or declaration of the pope or see of Rome ; with other protestations confirming these professions of loyalty. But through the prevalence of foreign influence,

* See Columbanus No. 6, p. 108, given in the Appendix.

this formulary was rejected by the Romish clergy, who even persuaded many that had signed it to withdraw their names.

Having glanced thus rapidly over some of the most striking features in our Church History from the age of St. Patrick to the Reformation, it is not my design here to continue the subject through any of the succeeding reigns ; for the annals of later times, though deeply interesting, are comparatively less important, and also better known among us. They consist in a great measure of a recital of injuries inflicted on the Church by Romanists and other enemies, in their endeavours to raise themselves by her destruction. Even now prospects are dark around her and enemies powerful ; even now she sees the great majority of her children seduced to follow the misleadings of an Italian bishop, and to receive his superstitions in place of her own holy and Scriptural doctrines. But she knows that she is still in the hands of Him who has been with her for fourteen hundred years, in whom she trusts that He will yet be with her, even though her temporal comforts be reduced much lower, and the injuries which infidel and antichristian influence in the state

have been heaping on her, should terminate in total sacrilege of her property, and subversion of her establishment. She would still have the same heavenly claims on the spiritual allegiance of the Irish people, even though the professed protection of the state were changed into open persecution of her members; since the tie that binds them to her depends not on the will of man, nor on the uncertain sunshine of earthly prosperity, but on the circumstance that she is a sound branch of the true Catholic Church of the living God, planted among us by His gracious ordinance, to lead all our people to the knowledge of His will and faith in Him. And it may yet perhaps be her lot to see those who are her enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, hereafter brought home to her fold, and united with her in holy communion and fellowship of Christian love; yea, and if necessity should so require it, in determined opposition to the usurpations of encroaching foreigners; just as in England the Saxons of old, once as Heathens, and again as Christian members of the Church of Rome, persecuted and afflicted the ancient British Christians, but afterwards in the days of Reformation, having become one body with

them, with them united in abolishing the tyranny and superstitions wherewith they had been so long enchained.

It appears from a general review of all that precedes, that from the days of St. Patrick to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there was no second Church formed in Ireland. During that period there was not a Church of Ireland and a Church of Rome here likewise ; but the ancient Catholic Church of Ireland occupied all the ground. This Church became in the twelfth century tinctured with the prevailing superstitions of the times, and subject to the bishop of Rome, the chief patron of them. But afterwards, having cast off him and them, in the reign of Elizabeth, it was deemed necessary by those who were in love with the old superstitions and former corruptions, to found a new Church here ; and so, a part of the people separating themselves from the ancient Church, and ancient line of bishops, put themselves under the patronage of the bishop of Rome, and other bishops ordained in foreign countries, and sent hither by him ; and thus in 1621 there were, as we have seen, two Romish bishops for Ireland living in the country, and two others

abroad. They could not even pretend to trace their ordinations to the ancient Church of the land : so much for the pretended antiquity of the present Romish Church in Ireland.

When we compare the miserable state of Ireland in later days, with her condition in the time of her early saints, and reflect on the period when she was eminent and illustrious among the nations of Europe ; and when she was respected and highly esteemed in foreign lands for her advancement in the knowledge of God's blessed Word, and the ability with which her sons instructed others in it ; we may well consider whether her exaltation at that time was not agreeable to the sense of that Scripture where God tells us, " Them that honour me I will honour,"—(I. Sam. ii. 30,) or whether her degraded position in more recent times, when the Holy Scriptures are neglected and hated by so many of her people, be not in keeping with the remainder of the verse, " They that despise me shall be lightly esteemed."

My young readers will learn from these pages a little concerning some of our ancient saints, whose very names perhaps they had not before known. I

regret that my limits have obliged me to say so little of these, and nothing at all of others ; for the Scripture saith, “The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance ;”—(Psalm cxii. 6 ;) and again “The memory of the just is blessed ;”—(Prov. x. 7 ;) and we ought surely to delight in cherishing the recollection of those holy men, by whom the Church of God was planted here and watered, in studying their pious lives, and imitating the pattern of devotion to the service of our blessed Redeemer with which they furnish us ; so that we may be stirred up more heartily to bless God’s holy name for all his servants departed this life in his faith and fear, and to beseech him to give us grace, so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of his heavenly kingdom. Amen.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV. ADDRESSED TO KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND, (A.D. 1155,) GRANTING HIM "THE PRIVILEGE OF TAKING POSSESSION OF IRELAND AND THE ISLANDS ADJACENT, SAVING THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME AND OF OTHER CHURCHES."

"ADRIAN, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

"Your highness contemplates the laudable and profitable work of gaining a glorious reputation on earth and enhancing the recompense of future bliss in heaven, by turning your thoughts, in the true spirit of a Catholic prince, to widening the bounds of the Church, and explaining the true Christian faith to ignorant and uncivilised tribes, and exterminating the nurseries of vices from the heritage of the Lord : and in order to the better execution of this project, you implore the counsel and countenance of the apostolic see. In which matter the more mature the deliberation and the greater the discretion with which you proceed, so much greater, we trust, will be the success that will, with the Lord's permission, attend your exertions.

"Certainly there is no doubt, but that Ireland, and all the islands upon which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, and which have received instruction in the Christian faith, do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as your grace also admits. Wherefore we are the more ready to introduce into them a faithful plantation, and a stock acceptable to God, in proportion as we are convinced from conscientious motives that this is urgently required of us.

"You have signified to us, son well-beloved in Christ, your desire to enter the island of Ireland, in order to bring that people into subjection

to laws, and to exterminate the nurseries of vices from the country ; and that you are willing to pay to St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house, and to preserve uninjured and inviolate the ecclesiastical rights of that land.

“ We therefore, treating your pious and laudable desire with the favour which it deserves, and graciously acceding to your petition, express our will and pleasure, that in order to widen the bounds of the Church, to check the spread of vice, to reform morals and inculcate virtues, in order to the advancement of the Christian religion, you should enter that island, and do what shall tend to the honour of God, and the welfare of that land. And let the people of that land receive you in an honourable manner, and respect you as their lord : provided always that ecclesiastical rights be uninjured and inviolate, and the annual payment of one penny for every house be secured to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church.

“ If then you shall think fit to carry out to its execution the plan which you have conceived in your mind, endeavour diligently to improve that nation by inculcating good morals : and exert yourself, both personally and by means of such agents as you employ, whom you shall have found suitable to the work, for their faith, conversation, and life, that the Church may be adorned there, the religion of the Christian faith be planted and grow, and the things pertaining to the honour of God and the salvation of souls be ordered by you in such a way, that you may deserve to obtain from God a higher degree of reward in eternity, and succeed in gaining on earth a name glorious throughout all generations.”

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER III. ADDRESSED TO THE SAME KING HENRY II., CONFIRMING THE PRECEDING BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV.—A.D. 1172.

“ Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

“Forasmuch as those grants of our predecessors, which are known to have been made on reasonable grounds, are worthy to be confirmed by a permanent sanction ; We therefore, following in the footsteps of the late venerable Pope Adrian, and considering the fruits of our desire, do ratify and confirm the permission of the said Pope, given you, relative to the lordship of the kingdom of Ireland : (reserving to Blessed Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as in England, so also in Ireland, the annual payment of one penny for every house :) to the end that the filthy practices of that land may be abolished, and the barbarous nation, which is called by the Christian *name*, may through your clemency attain to some decency of manners : and that, when the Church of that country, which has been hitherto in a disorderly state, shall have been reduced to order, that people may by your means possess for the future the reality as well as the name of the Christian profession.”

These two bulls, with references to the different original authorities for them, are to be seen in *Ussher's Sylloge*, Nos. 46 and 47.

No. II.

BULL OF POPE GREGORY XIII., (A.D. 1580,) INCITING THE IRISH TO REBELLION AGAINST QUEEN ELIZABETH.

“Gregory XIII., pope, to all and singular the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, as also to the Princes, Earls, Barons, Clergy, Nobility, and People, of the kingdom of Ireland, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

“Whereas in recent years we have by our letters exhorted you to assist (in order to the recovery of your liberty and the defence and preservation of it against the heretics) James Geraldine, of worthy memory, (who was endeavouring with most high-minded zeal, to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery imposed on you by the English deserters from the Holy Roman Church,) and to aid him with promptness and energy in his preparations to make war on God's enemies and yours ;

“ And whereas to encourage you to engage in this service with greater alacrity, we granted to all the contrite and confessed, who should follow the aforesaid General James and his army, the champion and defender of the Catholic faith, and who should join themselves to him, or support his cause in this expedition, by their Counsel, Countenance, Military Stores, Arms, and other necessities of war, or in any manner whatsoever, a plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, and the same privileges which have been usually bestowed by the Popes of Rome on persons setting out to the war with the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land ;

“ And whereas further, tidings have been recently received by us, not without deep distress of mind on our part, that the aforesaid James in a valiant encounter with the enemy, (as it hath pleased the Lord,) hath been slain ; and that our beloved son, John Geraldine, his kinsman, (of exemplary piety and heroism, which are to be attributed to God, whose cause is at issue,) hath succeeded to him in this expedition, and hath already performed many valiant deeds in his worthy struggle for the Catholic faith ; We therefore, in the strongest manner of which we are capable, exhort, require, and urge you in the Lord, all and singular, to study to aid the said General John and his army, against the aforesaid heretics, by every means in your power, according to the admonitions

hich we addressed to you for the regulation of your conduct toward the said James while he was yet alive.

“ For We, in dependance on the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of Blessed Peter and Paul his Apostles, do grant and by these presents bestow on all and singular of you, who having confessed and communicated, shall do the things contained in the letter aforesaid, for the said John and his army, or who, after his death, (in case it should perchance happen, which God vouchsafe to avert,) shall adhere to and favour his brother James, the same plenary indulgence and remission of your sins, as persons obtain who engage in the war against the Turks and for the recovery of the Holy Land ; these privileges to continue in force so long as the said brothers John and James shall survive.

“ But inasmuch as it would be difficult for these our letters to come to the notice of all who may be concerned in them, our pleasure is, that the

printed copies of them also, after having been subscribed by the hand of a Notary Public, and stamped with the seal of a Church dignitary, shall be received every where with the same full and implicit confidence as if these presents had been exhibited or shewn.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the seal of the Fisherman, May 13, 1580, in the eighth year of our Pontificate.

"CÆS. GLORIERIUS."

The above bull is taken from O'Sullivan's "Compendium of the [R.] Catholic History of Ireland;" (Tom. 2. Lib. iv. cap. 17.) and it may also be seen in the "History of Romish Treasons by Henry Foulis. B.D." London, 1681, page 306.

No. III.

SIMILAR BULL OF POPE CLEMENT VIII. EXCITING THE IRISH TO JOIN IN THE REBELLION OF HUGH O'NEILL.—A.D. 1600.

"To All and Singular, our Venerable brethren, the Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelates; also to our beloved children, the Princes, Earls, Barons, and People of the Kingdom of Ireland, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

"WHEREAS we have learned, that in pursuance of the exhortations addressed to you this sometime past, by the Popes of Rome our predecessors, and by ourselves and the Apostolic see, for the recovering of your liberty, and the defence and preservation of it against the heretics, you have with united hearts and efforts, followed, and supplied with aid and assistance, first JAMES GERALDINE, of worthy memory, (who exerted himself to the best of his power with most spirited resolution, so long as he lived, to shake off the cruel yoke of slavery imposed upon you by the English deserters from the Holy Roman Church;) after that, JOHN GERALDINE, kinsman of the said James; and most recently our beloved son, the noble Lord HUGH, PRINCE O'NEILL, styled Earl Tyrone, Baron of Dungannon, and Captain General of the Catholic army in Ireland: and Whereas further we learn that the Generals themselves and their soldiers, have in

progress of time, the hand of the Lord of Hosts assisting them, performed very many noble exploits in valiant combat with the enemy, and are still ready for the like hereafter ;

“ WE therefore, (to encourage you, and the General, and soldiers aforesaid, to exert yourselves with the more alacrity for the time to come likewise, to put your shoulder to this expedition against the aforesaid heretics,) desiring to bestow upon you spiritual graces and favours, after the example set us by our predecessors aforesaid, and in dependance on the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of Blessed Peter and Paul, his Apostles, Do mercifully grant in the Lord, to all of you and singular, (if truly penitent and confessed, and likewise refreshed with the Holy Communion, if it be possible,) who shall follow the aforesaid General Hugh and his army, the asserters and champions of the Catholic faith, and who shall join yourselves to them, or give them help in this expedition by Counsel, Countenance, Military Stores, Arms, and other implements of war, or in any manner whatsoever ; and also to the said General Hugh and his soldiers all and singular, we grant, a plenary pardon and remission of all their sins, and the same indulgences as have been usually allowed by the Popes of Rome to persons setting out for the war against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land : our decretals concerning the not granting of indulgences in such form, and on the occasion of receiving the Jubilee year's indulgences, and any other apostolic constitutions and ordinances to the contrary, (if this be requisite) notwithstanding.

“ But inasmuch as it would be difficult for these our presents to come to the knowledge of all who may be concerned in them ; our will is, that the printed copies of them also, having been subscribed by the hand of a Notary Public, and confirmed by the seal of a Church Dignitary, shall be received every where with the same reliance on their authority, as would be placed in these presents.

“ Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the seal of the Fisherman, April 18, 1600, in the ninth year of our Pontificate.

“ M. VESTRIUS BARBIANUS.”

The above bull is taken from Collier's Church History ; see the collection of Records at the end of that work. No. 97.

No. IV.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE CASE OF ELEVEN PRIESTS CONFINED IN NEWGATE FOR NOT RENOUNCING THE POPE'S PRETENDED DEPOSING POWER, AND FOR REFUSING TO TAKE THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO KING JAMES I. TAKEN FROM THE WRITINGS OF DR. O'CONOR, COLUMBANUS, NO. 6. [*The reader will bear in mind that this author was a Roman Catholic priest.*]

"Of all the transactions of the seventeenth century, that which, next to the Irish massacre, most injured our ancestors, and led to overwhelm their posterity by the penal code, was the rejection of the Irish remonstrance, and king James's test of allegiance, in compliance with the injunctions of Rome. The second order of our clergy who were not immediately under Italian influence, [i.e. in the seventeenth century, and according to Dr. O'Connor's views,] felt it their duty to subscribe these tests, and several wrote invincibly in their defence. But the sworn delegates of the Roman court issued their suspensions ordering them rather to submit to *martyrdom for the Catholic faith*.

King James's invincible defence of the oath of allegiance, was now overwhelmed by a *religious cry*. The works of the Jesuits Bellarmine and Suarez against it, were extolled as masterpieces of Catholicity, and the deposing doctrines were rammed down the throats of the English [R.] Catholics, without the least modification throughout a period of one hundred and eighty-three years.

"There is yet extant a petition to pope Paul V., signed by eleven priests, who were under sentence of death in Newgate, for refusing James's oath in 1612. Two of their companions had already suffered death for this offence. *They died in resistance to legitimate authority, and by the instigation of a foreign power.*

"In their petition they entreat of his Holiness *by all that is sacred*, to attend to their horrible situation, and they beg of him to point out to them clearly, in what the oath, for which they were condemned to die, is repugnant to Catholic faith. But yet, influenced by the courtly maxims, they declare their belief in his unlimited power, and they conclude with a solemn protest of blind submission to all his decrees, with an obedience

as implicit as if Rome were another Mecca, or as if the Vatican were the Seraglio of a Mahomet.

"My heart swells with mingled emotions of pity on one side, and horror and indignation on another, when I contemplate the dilemma in which those wretched men were thus placed, by the pride and ambition of their superiors! Before them was Tyburn, behind them stood armed with fulminating thunders and terrors, that grim disgrace, in the opinion of their flocks, by which they would be overwhelmed as apostates, if they opposed the mandates of Rome! On one side conscience stared them in the face, with St. Paul*—on another, a Vicar-Apostolic menaced refusal of the Sacrament, even on the eve of death!—This covered them with ignominy as apostates—that though frightful to humanity, was yet attended with posthumous renown.

"Religion indignantly wraps herself up in her shroud of deepest mourning, before the idol of Ecclesiastical domination, when she observes the Roman Court sacrificing to its insatiable ambition, the lives of so many heroes, who were worthy of a better fate! *perverting sacraments which were instituted for the salvation of souls into engines of worldly passions, and rendering them subservient to the policy of those passions, and panders to their intrigues.*

"I can fancy a haughty pontiff on receipt of this humble petition, agitated by contending difficulties: I can fancy him seated under a crimson canopy, surrounded by his sycophants, debating in a secret consistory, whether those unfortunate men shall, or shall not, have permission not be hanged! The blood of the innocent was now to be shed, or the deposing and absolving doctrines, and at the Bulls and decisions in their favour, to receive a deadly wound, which no ingenuity could parry, no force could avert, and no skill could cure.

"Barrister theologues of the Poddle! Blushing beauties of Maynooth! Do let us hear what middle course you would have devised in such existing circumstances!—In the dedication of one of your hodgepodges to Dr. Troy, you declare that whatever opinion he dictates, *that opinion is yours.* *A fortiori* your opinions would have been shaped by those of Pope Paul V., who deliberately encouraged the unfortunate priests in Newgate

* Romans xiii.

to suffer *death!* to be offered up as victims on the altar of his pride rather than resign his pretensions to the deposing power, or retract his decrees! The [R.] Catholic religion calumniated on account of the ambition of his court, had travelled barefooted over the Alps and the Apennines, from the dreary cells of a dark and noxious prison, and stood bareheaded and trembling, petitioning for admittance at the haughty portals of the Vatican! Aye, and admittance was refused! Day passed after day, and no answer was received, but that which might be collected from the sullen silence of impenetrable obduracy, and unbending domination! Both Sixtus and Pius V. had addressed their bulls with these magnificent titles—" *We who are placed on the supreme throne of justice, enjoying supreme dominion over all the kings, and princes, and states of the whole earth, not by human, but by divine authority,*" &c., And now how could it be expected that, in compliance with the petition of eleven beggarly priests of the second order, such magnificent titles should be resigned!—No, said the scarlet Cardinal, perish the idea!—Let not an iota be yielded, else we shall lose our worldly dominion, *Venient Romani et tollent nostram gentem et Regnum.* All the pride and pomp, and glory of the Vatican, would then be swept away from off the face of the earth, and what would then be the fate of the thunders of scarlet Cardinals and purple Monsignores!

"In consequence of this horrible decision, the following innocent *English* clergymen (alas! how many *Irish*) suffered as victims to the domination of Vicars-Apostolic, and the fatal influence of the court of Rome.

"I.—*Rev. Mr. Cadwallader*, refusing to take the oath of allegiance, with a promise of pardon at the place of execution, if he would comply, refused, and in *blind obedience* to Rome, was executed at Leominster, August 27, 1610.

[Here follows *eight* other similar cases. See Dodd's Church History. Vol. ii.]

"Let us now consider who, in the eye of unprejudiced reason, was the persecutor and executioner of those unfortunate men—James or the

Pope? The question bears not one moment's examination, '*Qui facit per alium facit per se.*'*

"If it should be alleged that the pope pitied those men who died for his worldly maxims of aggrandizement, that he was not cruel by nature but only by policy, and that he would have saved them if he could by money, or at any expense short of the sacrifice of pompous pride, and uncontrollable dominion, my answer is that this aggravates his guilt. *The horrors which hypocritical pride and ambition create, must be laid at the doors of those hypocrites, who disguise their passions with the mask of sanctity, whilst in reality they persecute religion and oppress truth!* Whether Moscow was burned by the French or by the Russians, the invaders are responsible; the necessity originated in them; he who steeps his sword in the blood of nations, because they will not tamely surrender their independence, whether he destroys those nations immediately, by the aid of foreigners, or by his own immediate and lawless dominion, is guilty of the excesses which his outrages have provoked: and he is the more guilty if he executes, with calm deliberation, enormities, which the sudden impetuosity of passion might in some instances palliate, though no provocation could justify.

"Yes, a systematic disregard to the rights of our fellow-creatures, when covered with the mantle of religion, is terrible in its operations. Its watchword is *no quarter*; it spares not either friends or foes, if they should ever manifest a symptom of opposition; every obstacle to its remotest views must be crushed, whatever evils may ensue!—Yes, he who is barbarous by nature, may sometimes be overtaken with compunction, and review his crimes with detestation and horror; but he who destroys his fellow-creatures, or exposes them to destruction for the sake of personal advantages, sanctifying his impiety with the name of religion, imposes a false conscience on himself, by casuistical quibbles, considers the crimes he occasions, and the blood he sheds as necessary evils; with unfeeling indifference, under the influence of a system, reared by pride, and supported by sophistry, he sees humanity outraged, and religion violated, and he glories with savage exultation in both.

* i. e. He that causeth another to do any thing, is himself the doer of it.

“Well says a smooth-faced barrister theologue from Maynooth, what conduct would you pursue, Columbanus, were you one of those eleven prisoners in Newgate? would you encounter the obloquy of the [R.] Catholics, and carry the stigma of apostacy to your grave? I hope in the mercy of God, that he would enable me to carry that cross, not only with patience, but with cheerfulness also. ‘*Blessed are they who suffer for righteousness.*’ Yes, I might be abandoned even by my friends, but the desert in which I might be condemned to take my solitary walk, would smile around me, and I would offer up my humble prayer in the gladness of my heart.

“I know well what a pang is that of affectionate regard, which experiences no return, but that of calumny and desertion. But *sursum corda!* I would look up to Him, the Mighty One, who will crown the invisible martyrdom of a worried spirit; to Him who will sooth the troubles of a heart which desires no consolation from present popularity, and which looks only to futurity for posthumous reward.

“To my companions in Newgate, I would read S. Bernard’s book *de consideratione*, in which he shews that Popes, and much less Bishops, have no absolute authority over God’s heritage, but are themselves subject to the laws of the Church. I would read for them the letter of Gerbert, who was afterwards Pope Silvester II., to the Archbishop of Sens, in which he says—‘Does it follow that because Pope Marcellinus apostatised to Paganism we are to follow his example.’ I say decidedly, that if a Pope offend against a brother Christian, and being repeatedly admonished, hearken not to the Church, he ought to be held as a Pagan: the higher his rank, the more tremendous his fall. What if he should declare us unworthy his communion, unless in obedience to him we violate the rules of justice, he cannot therefore separate us from the communion of Jesus Christ.”

A GLOSSARY

OF SOME OF THE MORE UNUSUAL WORDS AND NAMES
OCCURRING IN THIS WORK, &c.

Adamnanus, a celebrated Irishman, who was abbot or principal ruler of the monastery of Iona. He was born A.D. 626. Among members of the Church of Rome especially his life of St. Columba is highly esteemed, and Adamnanus himself is celebrated among the saints of their calendar on September 23. [See Butler's Lives of the Saints.]

Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, is also reckoned among the saints of the Romish calendar. [See Butler, at May 25.]

Arianism, the false doctrine of those who deny the supreme divinity of our Blessed Saviour, and consider him only the highest of created beings. This heresy derives its name from Arius, a presbyter of the Church at Alexandria, its first great teacher. To terminate the disputes arising from the blasphemous doctrines of the Arians, a synod of bishops, forming what is called the *First General Council*, assembled at Nice in Bythynia, A.D. 325. Arius, having been heard and examined before the assemblage, (consisting of three hundred and eighteen bishops,) was condemned as a teacher of error and excommunicated.

Baronius, a cardinal of the Church of Rome, much valued as a writer by members of her communion. [See Butler's Lives of the Saints last edition, May 26, notes.]

Bede, (*Venerable*) a celebrated and learned monk, the author of many valuable works, which are highly esteemed by the Church of Rome. The most important of them is his Ecclesiastical History of the Saxons, published in A.D. 731; which gives us an excellent account of the state of the Church in England from the earliest period. Bede was born at Yarrow in Northumberland, A.D. 673, and died there in A.D. 735. His whole life was spent in exercises of piety or study in the monastery of that place. He is honoured among the saints of the Romish calendar on May 27. [See Butler.]

As to the name of Venerable, by which he is always distinguished, it was given him probably on account of his great learning and piety. An old legend however attributes to this epithet a different origin.

It is said that a disciple of his, wishing to have a rhyming epitaph inscribed on his tombstone, wrote for it these words :—

Within this monument are laid
The bones of Bede;

but could not think of a suitable title to complete the second line. Tired with seeking for one, he fell asleep; but lo! on his awaking, as the story goes, he found his verse completed thus by an angelic hand,

Within this monument are laid
The bones of Venerable Bede.

Bernard, St., a famous Romish monk, born in France, in A.D. 1091; died in 1153. He wrote the life of Malachy, archbishop of Armagh; and many other works distinguished for their eloquence and the devotional spirit that breathes in them.

Bull, a letter from the pope, giving his sanction or authority to any thing, or enjoining any thing to be done with such authority. Among Roman Catholics, a bull of the pope, when published by authority of their bishops, becomes to them a law of the land.

Canonization, the act of enrolling a person among the number of the saints, or rather of those who are called *saints by the Church of Rome*.

Canonical hours, seven stated times in the day, at which it was usual in the early Church to celebrate different forms of divine service.

Canons, this word has a twofold meaning with ecclesiastical writers: 1st, it signifies laws of the Church, passed by her authority in general or local councils; 2ndly, the name is applied to particular persons of the clergy; originally to such of them as lived by a certain rule of discipline, which prescribed prayer and psalmody at certain hours of the day, &c.

Cardinal, a name given to certain of the clergy at Rome, who have the election of the pope.

Celibacy, the state of single life, which is made obligatory on the clergy of the Romish Church. N.B.—On this point it is curious to observe the cautious disposition of their divinity professor at Maynooth, Mr. Carew. This writer, mentioning in his *Church History* Sulgeh's visit to Ireland, [see p. 159,] says, that the account of it is given by a *member* of his own family; whereas we are distinctly told in the narrative from which Mr. C. takes the story, that it was written by *his son*; for the bishops of that time were not forbidden to marry as now-a-days. But that facts of this sort should be known generally, is a thing that does not answer well the purposes of the Romish Church. One is at a loss whether to frown at the disingenuousness, or smile at the ingenuity of this version of the story.

- Choir*, that part of a cathedral which is mostly used for divine service in modern times.
- Chrysostom, St.*, one of the most famous divines of the early Church, celebrated for his wonderful gifts of eloquence and piety. He was appointed bishop of Constantinople, in A.D. 397.
- Corbey*, a town in Westphalia, celebrated for its monastery.
- Council*, an assembly of bishops, &c., met to consider and regulate the affairs of the Church, its laws, doctrines, &c.
- of Arminium in Italy, was summoned in connexion with the Arian controversy.
 - of Arles, arose out of the disturbances excited in the Church in the fourth century by the Donatists, (so called from Donatus, one of their leaders,) a sect who arose in Africa, and prevailed widely there. They separated from the Church in consequence of a bishop being appointed at Carthage, whose exaltation was much opposed to their feelings. They were condemned in this and other councils.
 - of Chalcedon, or Fourth General Council, consisting of six hundred and thirty bishops, was held in A.D. 451; and condemned the error of those who taught, that in Jesus Christ there is but one nature, compounded of the divine and human, instead of two distinct natures united in one person.
 - II. of Constantinople, or Fifth General Council, held in A.D. 553, condemned the writings called the Three Chapters, which supported the Nestorian heresy; and confirmed the acts of the first four general councils. The decrees of this latter council were rejected for a time by many bishops in Italy and Africa, from the mistaken notion that the former council (of Chalcedon) had approved of two of the Three Chapters.
 - of Nice. See *Arianism*.
 - of Sardis, A.D. 347. In it were made some enactments connected with the Arian heresy. A most important law was made at the same time, giving the bishop of Rome the power of ordering the causes of bishops to be reheard, in cases where it appeared to him that they were unjustly condemned.
- Diocese*, (nearly the same with *bishopric* or *see*,) a district of country under the care of one bishop. The *Apostolic See* is a name applied, specially by Romanists, to designate the supreme authority of the Church of Rome.
- Donatists*, [See Council of Arles.]
- Druidism*, a system of heathenism and idolatry which prevailed generally in the British Isles, before their conversion to Christianity. The priests of this system were called Druids; they were at the head of religion, and managed every thing connected with it; and they had also the power of deciding almost all civil controversies. They were accustomed in cases of sickness, danger, or public distress, to offer up human sacrifices, in figures of their idols made of osiers. The

persons so put to death being mostly guilty of some crime, but very often also innocent. Persons not submitting to the Druids were expelled from the sacrifices, their company avoided, and they considered the most vile and wicked wretches in being. The Druids were governed by an high priest or arch-druid. [See Collier.]

Excommunication, the act of separating from the communion of the Church. To add to the terror of this punishment, cursing by bell book and candle was often added. The priest stands in the pulpit, clad in his vestments, with the cross lifted up before him, and pronounces a fearful curse upon the offending party, in the name of God, and all the saints. After this is done, "the book is clapped together, the candles blown out, and the bells rung with a most dreadful noise, made by the congregation present, bewailing the accursed persons concerned in that black doom denounced against them." [See Mant's Church History. Vol. I.]

First-fruits, a tax on church property, consisting of the first year's profits of all livings, bishoprics, &c.

Francis, St., founder of the order of Franciscans; flourished A.D. 1223. He and his disciples bound themselves by a vow to live in voluntary poverty.

Friars, a sort of religious beggars in the Church of Rome, who profess to follow the example of our Saviour, in having no property of their own, and living wholly upon alms. This order commenced in the thirteenth century.

Fuller, Thomas, prebendary of Sarum, author of a Church History of England to A.D. 1648, &c. This history is remarkable for its quaint style and abundance of original wit. There are many inaccuracies in it, but it is on the whole a valuable production.

Gildas, the most ancient of the British writers, flourished in the sixth century. He wrote a work entitled "The Destruction of Britain," which is extant.

Giraldus Cambrensis, a celebrated author who lived in the reign of Henry II. One of his works, entitled "The Conquest of Ireland," contains an account of the English invasion. It is written in a turgid pompous style, and displays too much flattery of his royal patron, King Henry.

Heresy, an obstinate denial or perversion of some article of the Christian faith. [See *Arianism*.]

Hoveden, Roger, a historical writer who flourished in the reign of Henry II., and belonged to his household. His "Annals" of England is a very valuable and interesting work.

Jerome, St., one of the most learned and celebrated fathers of the Church. He flourished at the close of the fourth century, and wrote many commentaries on Holy Scripture, and other works which have come down to us.

Jesuits, an order of men in the Church of Rome, whose constant object

is to advance the power of the pope, by every means which the deepest craftiness can suggest. They have sprung up since the Reformation, and are to be found in every class of society, from the highest rank of men to the humblest of the peasantry. Their plots and interferences with temporal governments have proved such a curse, even in Roman Catholic countries, that it has been found necessary for the public safety to suppress them by the civil power. This has been done in France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, &c.; and in fine the whole society was abolished by Pope Benedict XIV. It has been however since revived by Pope Pius VII., and is at work again troubling the Church. The Jesuits have been much encouraged and patronised of late by the British government.

Lanigan, Dr., a very learned Roman Catholic writer, author of an erudite Church History of Ireland, in 4 vols. 8vo., which is looked upon as a standard work on the Roman side of the question.

Legate, a commissioner appointed by the pope, to transact any business by his authority.

Monks, a class of men who separated themselves from the world, and retired into seclusion and solitude, for the purpose of meditation and prayer. [See St. Luke v. 16, and vi. 12.] This order arose in the earliest ages of the Church, and many persons in the second century retired in this way to live in mountains and other solitary places. Whatever piety there may have been in the original design of such a life, was in latter ages obscured or lost in the general mass of religious abuses which prevailed in the Church before the time of the Reformation.

Nestorianism, the heresy taught by Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who asserted that God the Word and the man Christ Jesus were *different persons* under the same appearance. This error was condemned by the *Third General Council*, held at Ephesus, in A.D. 431, at which two hundred bishops were present.

Origen, a famous ecclesiastical writer and commentator of the third century. His zeal was the means of converting to Christianity many unbelievers. He wrote also in defence of the Christian faith against the heathen Celsus.

Orthodox, sound in doctrine, according to the truth of the pure faith of Christ.

Peter-pence, a tax paid to the popes of Rome by the English from a very early period. It consisted of a penny levied on each house, and was named Peter-pence from its being collected on the festival of *St. Peter in Vinculis*. It was first granted by Ina, king of the West Saxons, in A.D. 725, for the establishment and support of an English college at Rome; and was confirmed by successive kings of England, to the time of Henry VIII., when it was finally abolished.

Pontiff, a name applied in ecclesiastical writers to designate a bishop. *Supreme Pontiff*, is a title arrogantly assumed by the bishops of Rome.

Prebend, an office in a cathedral, having certain clerical duties annexed to it. The person who fills it is called a prebendary.

Schism, a criminal division in the Church, or voluntary separation from it.

Strype, a very valuable writer, who is the author of several very useful works, illustrating the Church History of England, about the time of the Reformation. His writings contain a great collection of important and interesting matters, original documents, &c.

Suffragan, an assistant or subordinate bishop, entrusted with the charge of a large diocese. Originally where the bishopric attached to a particular town extended very far into the country, so as to be too large for one bishop to take care of, an assistant, or suffragan, was appointed for the remote parts. Such assistants were also called Chorepiscopi. About the exact nature of their office there has been considerable difference of opinion among the learned. In later times the name of Suffragan has been applied to the bishops belonging to the province of any particular archbishop: thus the bishop of Down may in this way be called a suffragan to the archbishop of Armagh, &c.

Synod, [See Council.]

Tertullian, a presbyter (i.e. a clergyman) of the Church at Carthage, in the second century, celebrated for his piety and learning, and for many useful books which he wrote. He seems to have been deficient in judgment, and was at last, after many services to the cause of religion, deceived by the imposture of Montanus, who had professed himself to be "the Comforter" promised by our Lord to his disciples. He thus fell away from the Church, and died in this state of separation from her communion.

Titular, an epithet applied in common use, to those ecclesiastics who exercise an influence over such of the clergy and people as they can persuade to follow them, without at the same time having any authority of the kind entrusted to them by the Church. Such are the Romish bishops in these countries: nor would their case be in the least different if they should come to be endowed with revenues by the state; inasmuch as spiritual authority consists neither in money nor in state patronage.

Ussher, James, archbishop of Armagh, A.D. 1625, one of the most distinguished and illustrious literary characters to whom Ireland ever gave birth: indeed perhaps it would not be too much to say, the most eminent for learning and piety of all who have lived in Ireland since the times of the first planting of Christianity among us. His great merits are admitted even by his controversial opponents belonging to the Romish party. The Jesuit FitzSymons with whom he had a controversy in England, pronounced him to be *A Catholicorum doctissimus*, the most learned of those who were not Catholics: and Signor Villanueva, the learned Romish editor of St. Patrick's writings,

speaks of him thus:—"In our notes we have had before our eyes almost all the works of James Ussher, of Dublin, whose very name is the highest praise; but especially his *Antiquities of the British Churches*, and *Collection of Ancient Letters*. Bollandus and his associates speak of him in these terms:—'Ussher's works in the Latin language, on the *Antiquities of the British Churches*, written with much learning and modesty, are often cited by Colgan with commendation. With ourselves too, they have been deservedly precious.' " And to notice only one other such tribute from his adversaries, the late eminent titular bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, Dr. Doyle, speaking of Lanigan's *Church History*, pronounces it to be "a work, which for extensive knowledge, deep research, and accurate criticism, surpasses, in his opinion, all that has ever been produced by the Established Church, collectively or individually in Ireland, *Ussher's labours only excepted*." [See "A Defence by J. K. L. of his vindication of the religious and civil principles of the Irish [R.] Catholics. Dublin, Coyne, 1824."] Archbishop Ussher suffered much from the revolutionary troubles of the reign of Charles I.

William of Malmesbury, an eminent Romish historical writer, who flourished in the reign of King Stephen, in the twelfth century.

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ERRATA.

The reader is requested to make the following corrections:—

Page 29, note, for "Declar" read "Declan;" *ib.* for "M'Phel" read "Mr. Phelan." In page 187, line 19, for "but" read "that."

Some of the numbers at the heads of the several sections are wrongly printed, which was not observed until the sheets had gone to press; these errors will however, it is hoped, cause no serious inconvenience.

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